



Final Synthesis Report

The Role and functions of secondary cities in the wider development picture

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1. Executive Summary

1. What role and function have secondary cities in the wider development context? What does the analysis of three secondary cities tell us about their role? What needs to be done to strengthen their function in the wider context where they are located? And what lessons can we take away from reviewing national case studies? This **Final Synthesis report** was formulated with these questions in mind. It draws from the review of the three cities **Arua** (361,000 inhabitants), Uganda, **Koudougou** (160,000 inhabitants) Burkina Faso; and **Nkayi** (100,000 inhabitants), Republic of Congo. A fundamental question addressed by the report is whether the findings and conclusions drawn from the analysis of these three cities can be transposed to universal conclusions about secondary cities in Africa. The conclusion is that the common challenges, constraints and shortcomings faced by Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi are very similar to what unfolded during the analysis of the vast literature about secondary cities. Important analogies were also disclosed by the review of benchmarked cases of secondary cities programmes¹. Cities-specific and universal challenges faced by secondary cities are reported herein and lead to the formulation of concrete proposals and an **Agenda for Development of Secondary Cities** to guide future interventions on secondary cities development. The report navigates from the specifics to universal issues and vice-versa throughout the body of the text.
2. The Final Synthesis Report unveils two critical recurrent issues, namely, **(1) the inadequate institutional and human resources capacity of local governments**, and **(2) the chronic lack of financial resources and full dependency of government transfers from central government**. A diagram depicted in Figure 1 outlines the summary of this analysis which draws from the SWOT analysis of the three cities, the benchmark cases and the international literature review.
3. **The role of national governments could not be more emphasised. National government policies towards decentralization are driving forces** in strengthening the role and autonomy of secondary cities in the broad development scenario. National policies and central government frameworks set legislation, outline roles as well as functions and responsibilities of local governments. In Uganda this is more evident. The benchmarked cases, particularly Rwanda and China, reinforce this conclusion about the critical role of national governments in promoting balanced spatial development in the territory and strengthening the role of secondary cities in national urbanization and regional planning. However actual devolution and transfer of resources fall into the cracks of local politics. Local governments have by large being unable to organize and increase its own sources of revenue due to several reasons. It is worth to underscore the weak capacity to define its tax base, levy and collect taxes within its own jurisdiction and the chronic lack of well-trained personnel. The report also highlights poorly developed governance systems that hinder local participation and civil society engagement in local affairs. This is recurrent in Sub Saharan African secondary cities.
4. The report unequivocally reveals that **the provision of and universal access to basic infrastructure and municipal services** such as potable water, sewerage, wastewater treatment, solid waste collection is a another recurrent challenge faced by secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa by large. This affects private sector development and the overall market of tradeable and non-tradeable goods in secondary cities. Pitfalls in infrastructure have an adverse impact on the economy of secondary cities. This includes but not limited to poor transportation and logistics which are critical for strengthening the rural-urban linkages and for the exploitation of the potentials of the Agri-industrial sector that secondary cities often have in their immediate hinterland (city region). The connection with its hinterland and agricultural production is a critical challenge for their economy and labour market. That was very evident in the case of Nkayi and seems to be like secondary cities located in a region of robust rural production.

¹ A synthesis of the cases of South Africa, Rwanda, Mauritania, USA, and China are available in the annex. Brief conclusions drawn from these cases are presented in Chapter 7.

5. In addition to the SWOT analysis, the report brings forward an asset-based analysis to support the preparation of policy interventions in secondary cities. The outcome of **the asset-based analysis** highlights the restraining and driving forces that either support or hinder the development of secondary cities. The findings in Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi are very similar to what unfolds elsewhere in Sub Saharan Africa and other parts of the world as depicted by the literature review and the benchmarked case studies. **The asset-based analysis unpacks the (a) institutional capital, (b) human capital, (c) social capital; (d) financial capital, (e) physical capital and (f) environmental capital.** This asset-based analysis provides a positive look at secondary cities development that helps to identify drivers of secondary cities' transformative policies. For example, the existence of social infrastructure and formal and informal institutions that bring together different social groups and stakeholders provide a potential springboard for civil society engagement in the city of Arua. By bringing together these assets into an integrated policy framework one can launch a virtuous cycle of integrated interventions that concomitantly improves the different dimensions subject to analysis herein e.g. governance, people, the economy, infrastructure and so on. The conclusion of this analysis highlights the need to develop concrete actions on the assets and means, the capacities and knowledge and the finance and economic capital, as illustrated in Figure 2.
6. The combined review of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi provides the elements to formulate a **framework for action** and interventions in secondary cities development in Sub Saharan Africa under three main clusters: **(1) assets, (2) capacities and (3) finance.** The focus on the assets unveils **the means** to achieve transformative processes. It assumes that one needs to build on existing structures, mechanisms and available assets – people, institutions, resources, built-up and natural environment – and strengthen them incrementally through development cooperation, technical assistance and capacity building. Scanning the **existing capacity** of secondary cities is also essential in order to disclose the level of competencies and entrepreneurship that exist both within the cadres of local government as well as in the civil society domain, including the private sector.
7. The conclusion is that institutional capacity is paramount for a successful secondary cities development strategies. The framework highlights the third element: **financial resources.** Rather than depending only on national government transfers, secondary cities have the opportunity to organize its **land information systems** and gradually build a cadastre of properties in its territory which can become the source of its own revenues generated by land and property tax. Land governance can help cities to employ planning and legal tools to increase land-based revenues. It goes without saying that this lays down the cartographic foundation for spatial and economic planning, generating mapping, data and information about the physical territory of the city. These three elements need to come together in an integrated development vision. The benchmarked cases demonstrate that this is part and parcel of secondary cities' gradual achievement of autonomy in planning and local resources mobilization. The benchmarked case of China, in particular, reinforces the conclusion that without any doubt **land** represents a source of wealth for local governments.
8. The Synthesis Final Report brings forward **various propositions.** There is a need to develop and implement a capacity building strategy and institution building in order to address one of the major shortcomings identified in secondary cities. The cases of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi and the benchmarked cases provide unequivocal evidences that without a minimum institutional and human resources capacity it is nearly impossible to turn around the vicious cycle found in secondary cities. Such strategy must be structured under two legs. One that focuses on the **institutional and human resources capacity of the local city administration** so that it can fulfil its basic function, plan and manage local affairs, anticipate the rapid urban growth with plans and public policies, and be able to provide municipal services of quality, reliability and efficiency. **The other leg focuses on civil society stakeholders,** both from the private and community sectors, in order to improve the quality of participation, civic engagement and accountability, and foster the development of local leadership. Capacity development is a long-term process and therefore it must go hand-in-hand with all policies

and approaches in order to strengthen the role of secondary cities in the broad national and regional development scenario in countries of Sub Saharan Africa. .

9. The benchmarked approaches and lessons learned with secondary cities development policies that are highlighted in the **examples from South Africa, Rwanda, Mauritania, USA and China reveal** common issues that are reflected in the three cities under review e.g. Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi. As highlighted earlier, the role of national governments is important and thus **well-structured national-local relations** are vital for secondary cities. Not mentioning policies of decentralization and devolution of powers that intend to strengthen local governments' autonomy. In other words, central-local relations, national vision and political commitment at the national level strengthen the role of secondary cities in the wider development context where they are inserted.
10. The **institutional and human resources capacity** and the ability of the city to boost local talents were highlighted in all the benchmarked cases. The benchmarking of case studies in South Africa, Rwanda, Mauritania, USA and China show a rich set of experiences that enlighten the reflection about the role of national governments in secondary cities development in Sub Saharan Africa as a whole. In **South Africa**, for example, the case highlights the importance of cities profiles and the support to strengthen fiscal policies but also the spatial development framework where secondary cities play a critical role; in **Rwanda**, a body of national government policies including national urban policies and the national Vision 2050 outlines the role to be played by different secondary cities within a spatial development framework of human settlements where location for public investments are strategically selected; the aim is deconcentrating population and economic activities and strengthen development corridors. The case of **Mauritania** highlights the role of an international development agency e.g. World Bank in strengthening the fiscal, finance and planning capacity of local governments. The case of the small legacy towns in the **USA** is emblematic and shows surprising analogies with secondary cities in Africa particularly identifying actions that are needed to revert physical decay, economic stagnation, youth unemployment, inequality and poverty. The case of **China's** secondary cities is also very emblematic and reveals the importance of linking national policies with local development processes under a clear institutional framework where fund-raising and financial resources are placed at the core of the development strategies, and where land-based finance and industrialization play fundamental roles. The level of autonomy of local governments and incentives to perform is placed at the centre of the policy at a certain moment in time through the evolution of policies to guide a remarkable process of urbanization and migration to urban areas not seen before in human history.
11. In a nutshell, it is recommended to **improve the quality and reliability of data and information** to support decision making and evidence-based policy making and implementation in secondary cities. This is a recurrent challenge in Sub Saharan Africa that affects the ability of governments to formulate meaningful policies and take well-informed decisions. Actions **to improve mapping and cartography are suggested** so that secondary cities can start getting a grip on its territory, acquire knowledge about its rapidly changing spatial structure and at the same time initiate the incremental development of a land and property cadastre that should lead to better fiscal cadastre and revenue generation. Land management must be considered an important element in secondary cities development as it is clearly evident in the case of China. It goes without saying that all the recommended actions have **an incremental development character and are expected to be undertaken concomitantly and built on the available assets of secondary cities.**
12. The implementation of a **situation auditing of the local administration** is considered as the stepping stone to improve public sector performance and unveil employment conditions, functions, roles, competencies and salary scales. Institutional and knowledge gap analysis and training needs assessment are associated with that. This is closely connected to the **capacity gap analysis and the capacity development strategy**. It goes without saying that this is a long-term process and addresses the structural systems of civil servant employment and public employee career in the countries. Nevertheless, given the urgency placed by rapid urbanization on secondary cities and the need of a competent local government in secondary cities in order to respond to this challenge, this issue can

no longer be overlooked. There is no “one fits all solution” but one must consider innovative ways to attract talent and young professionals to the public sector.

13. The scarcity of funding and financial capital calls for the mobilization and participation of private sector and private sector investment in secondary cities development. This is another critical issue to be considered given the resource-poor state of local governments in secondary cities. Direct public procurement processes is practiced throughout Sub Saharan Africa allowing for commissioning different types of public goods to be delivered by private companies. There is a need to document and **promote private sector engagement and different forms of public private partnerships (PPP)** and establish a resourceful mechanisms to make lessons learned readily available for policy makers in the region. This type of case study based research needs to be encouraged throughout Sub Saharan Africa. It highlights the need of PPP legislation that stresses the role of national governments and the need to formulate a deliberate policy to foster private sector participation in secondary cities development. However, PPP is not the ‘silver bullet’ in the lowest income region of the world. The records in Sub Saharan Africa show that private sector participation still has a long way to go and overcome professional contracting challenges, pricing and budgeting constraints, time-consuming processes, graft, and inadequate regulatory frameworks². Furthermore, there are ample evidences about the need for Sub Saharan African countries to develop suitable regulatory frameworks, norms and regulations and employ law that is fit for purpose to their institutional, political and legislative environment aiming at the creation of conducive business environments for private sector investments in infrastructure³. The cases of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi put in evidence the need to establish private sector promotion entities within the local government structure in order to nurture incipient forms of private sector engagement but also to overcome the overlap and duplication that takes place in public sector delivery of services.
14. The proposed interventions in Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi are guided by principles drawn from the framework for action outlined in Chapter 6. The interventions take form of **programmes to promote structural transformation in the three cities** focusing on shared core **focus on economic development, investment in infrastructure and improvement in revenue generation** which are seen as a means to boost the economic density of secondary cities that is likely to turn them into a vibrant and sustainable places. The programmes build on the assets of each city, for example, considering the profile of Koudougou as a hub for education, hospitality and trading, while taking the potential of the Agri-industry in Nkayi for its future development, and the transnational border town location of Arua as a strong regional trading hub. These visions for the future of these cities should be elaborated by each city’s constituent groups and validated by government and transformed into a strategic and operational plan.
15. Furthermore, there are three issues that stand out in the proposed city development approaches for the three cities, namely **(1) citizen participation** and engagement, **(2) improved governance** and institutional performance and **(3) urban planning** to shape the urban form and the built-up environment of cities. At the city government level, the proposed programmes suggest the **establishment of an institutional and organizational environment** within the local administration in order to strengthen their ability to plan, manage, implement and monitor local development programmes. The establishment of a project execution entity in the municipal structure was recommended for the three cities of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi. This project management and implementation unit is to become the entry point for technical assistance and further consolidation of the programme delivery capacity. Key mandate to support city development and key stakeholders are identified for at the national and local levels.

² Farlam, Peter (2005). Assessing Public Private Partnership in Africa: Nepad Policy Focus Report No 2. The South African Institute of International Affairs.

³ Arimoro, Augustine Edozor (2022). Private Sector Investment in Infrastructure in Sub-Saharan Africa Post-COVID-19: The Role of Law. Public Works Management & Policy. Volume 27, Issue 2, April 2022, Pages 108-126

16. The **role of national governments** and particularly of line ministries and state agencies are essential for the success of secondary city development interventions. This should not be underestimated. It is underscored by the analysis of the three cities in Uganda, Burkina Faso and Congo, substantiated by the literature review and validated by the benchmarked cases of South Africa, Rwanda, Mauritania, USA and China. The role of national governments in defining the **spatial development framework** and the potential roles and function of secondary cities in the wider regional and national territory where they are located could not be more emphasized. In **the case of Arua**, the government of Uganda identified its role as a regional city in the Uganda Vision 2020 Spatial Framework document and has adopted a national physical development plan and a national urban policy to steer urbanization as a transformative force in the country. Ethiopia, Kenya and Cape Verde have formulated national visions for the future also embracing urbanization as part of policies geared to structural transformation. A vision for the future of the country is inherently associated with the role and function of secondary cities like Arua. The government of Congo has established a National Spatial Planning Scheme and a National Development Plan. The government of Burkina Faso has also formulated a National Urban Policy and a National Economic and Social Development Plan. The role and function of cities have been highlighted in these documents. Nevertheless, despite of revealing national aspirations and policy directions that impact on secondary cities, these documents do not generate the desired impact if not linked to funding, implementation arrangements and technical support. This seems to be a serious shortcoming that hinders the translation of national policies into concrete actions on the ground.
17. The analysis of the three cities coupled with the review of the vast international literature and case studies supported the formulation of an **Agenda for Development of Secondary Cities** herein presented in the Final Synthesis Report. The agenda is comprised of macro and micro level type of interventions. **Macro level interventions** concentrate on the national domain and outline the strategic role of national governments in setting up a strategic vision for the future and identifying the location of public investments as well as policy focus impacting on the development of the national territory as a whole. Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Cape Verde, just to mention a few countries, have adopted a national vision in which urbanization plays a vital transformational role. Deliberate national policies are designed **to guide urbanization** which by default highlights the role of secondary cities in the wider national territory and establish rural-urban linkages at the regional levels. Stakeholders participation is encouraged through **national urban forums**⁴ and regional consultative processes. **Spatial planning** gains prominence in the formulation of regional and national development plans, different methods of forecasting are adopted and **national urban policies**⁵ are formulated. Currently 15 African countries have formulated National Urban Policies⁶.
18. Strengthening rural-urban linkages and the relationship of secondary cities with its hinterlands is included in the Agenda for Development of secondary cities. The importance of **rural-urban linkages** in the function and role of secondary cities cannot be underrated. It was highlighted by the cases of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi. The benchmark cases and the international literature emphasized labor provision, employment, and income generation in the urban-rural realm of secondary cities. Mutually reinforcing ecosystems that sustain the local rural-urban economy, the flow of goods and people, the needs of transport and storage infrastructure to facilitate the outflow of agricultural products to consumers markets need to be better understood and included in secondary cities development strategies. It is highly recommended to undertake an in-depth research in order to shed light on livelihood, poverty, inequality, income disparities and peoples needs that will increase our understanding of the relationship of secondary cities with its wider rural hinterlands. The 2030 Agenda

⁴ Ethiopia, Rwanda and Mozambique, for example, are countries that organize national urban forums to mobilize public and private stakeholders' participation and political support to sustainable urbanization.

⁵ <https://www.oecd.org/gov/national-urban-policies.htm>

⁶ OECD & UN-Habitat (2021). Global State of National Urban Policy 2021.

<https://urbanpolicyplatform.org/download/global-state-of-national-urban-policy-2021/>

for Sustainable Development vision to “leave no one behind” suggest the need for policies that enhance synergies between urban and rural territories and communities, an agenda that should be part and parcel of secondary cities development programmes.

19. This body of work at national level highlight **the need for good data, reliable information and analytical capacity**. The outcomes of this process are typically policies promoting and defining roles and function of secondary cities in a system of clusters of cities and urban agglomerations, the establishment of development corridors, the development of special economic zones, strengthening of secondary city hubs associated to a particular industry and so on. Macro-level interventions also call for **enabling national-local relations** and the need for effective **decentralization and devolution** that empower local governments to act and take more control of the development of their territory in a context of rapid urban expansion. It is argued that international development cooperation and technical cooperation find a suitable environment to engage positively in this national policy formulation process that intend to shape urbanization and boost more equitable, inclusive and sustainable development. EU Delegations, for example, while engaging in bilateral consultations with national development partners, may find opportunities to align sectoral policies financed by the EU with the national integrated and sustainable urban development strategies led by national governments. This is likely to generate positive impacts on the development of secondary cities.
20. At the **micro-level**, an agenda for city level interventions are proposed to improve the capacity of secondary cities and enhance the quality of urbanization, comprised of the following: (a) to improve self-financing capacity, (b) establish territorial planning to anticipate migration and rapid urbanization, (c) financing infrastructure improvement and (d) increase civic engagement through participatory budgeting. The proposed Agenda of Development of Secondary Cities includes a vigorous intervention aimed at **increasing local revenue generation** in order to reverse the high level of dependency of local governments on national government transfers and grants as revealed by Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi. This is similar to the situation found elsewhere in secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa. Experience from the World Bank and UN-Habitat in Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda shows that capacity building coupled with the introduction of revenue administration methods, organizational changes and revision of tax base and fees collection yielded positive results and increase in revenues. Though, this is a long-term process that cannot wait any longer given the dire need of investment in secondary cities under a rapid process of urbanization. This has resonance in the decentralization policies and national-local relations.
21. Secondary cities need to anticipate the inevitable future of population growth and urban expansion. The Agenda for Development of Secondary Cities proposes **urban planning interventions coupled with active land management**. It suggests the promotion of innovative and fit for purpose strategies such as the “making room” approach promoted by the University of New York’s Urban Expansion Initiative that has been implemented in cities in Uganda and Ethiopia. In a nutshell, it helps cities to identify where urban expansion is likely to take place and preventively acquire the control over land that can be used for public infrastructure and services thereafter. In other words, **to prepare cities for urban expansion before uncontrolled urbanization** makes it physically impossible and prohibitively costly. Here is where technical cooperation and development assistance can make real difference in helping secondary cities to prepare baseline urban plans and avoid falling hostage of comprehensive, time-consuming and largely inefficient normative plans. The suggested approach advocates that cities must generate a land development plan creating a macro grid of future arterial roads that will guide planned land occupation in a structured and rational manner. This compels local governments to actively engage in land management and negotiations with landowners to negotiate a social pact on the urban development plan that benefits the whole city and its inhabitants. In Sub Saharan Africa, linking land management and urban planning is critical because of the fact that, by large, customary land ownership rights coexist with Roman-based property rights regimes, making it extremely complex to enforce land-use ordinances and land allocation for urban development.

22. The Agenda for Development of Secondary Cities includes **improvement in basic infrastructure** and suggests means to raise finance instead of relying only on the traditional own sources of revenues and tax base and central government transfers and grants. The poor and overstretched infrastructure is a major impediment for the development of secondary cities and the creation of a buoyant local economy. The City Reports on Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi highlighted innumerous problems in infrastructure provision that finds echo in secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa. The finance required to address such a backlog is huge and national budget allocation is insufficient to address the problem. There has been progress in the creation of conducive environments to allow private sector participation in infrastructure provision. Many countries have advanced legislation on direct public procurement and partnerships (PPPs). The use of **debt finance instruments** is still at the early stages but can become a viable instrument under certain conditions. The **issuing of municipal bonds** to raise upfront capital by cities like Johannesburg, Douala and Dakar show a promising way of raising capital for infrastructure investment in Sub Saharan Africa. The urgency for infrastructure improvement and finance in secondary cities cannot be more emphasized. It requires robust funding, expertise, and technical assistance. International development cooperation can play a meaningful role in supporting the required capacity building and internal public auditing leading to institutional, administrative, management, legal and operational reforms that will get local governments ready and eligible to receive finance. Other financial architecture may be found in the form of guarantees and infrastructure development funds. Developing finance for infrastructure is inherently associated with other spearheads of the Agenda of Development for Secondary Cities such as improvements in revenue generation and the development of a municipal land and property registry.
23. **Active civil society participation and citizen engagement** in the planning and management of cities is a fundamental element of the Agenda for Development of Secondary Cities. Given the expressive number of cities adopting participatory budgeting processes in African cities, it may become a transformative force of **community organization** and engagement in decision making on the prioritization of public investments in the municipal budget of secondary cities. The experience in cities in Senegal and in francophone Africa show the advantage of shared decisions on scarce resources, the enabling role played by NGOs in support to community-based consultative processes, and the enormous potential it has to incorporate the largely young adult population into local government affairs. Above all, it shows that the active engagement in the budgeting process result in greater awareness about public finance and local democracy. Participatory budgeting in Africa shows that this mode of participation can also become a gateway **to engage the youth, women and include gender and youth related issues, and climate change mitigation and adaptation** in the agenda of public resource allocation in secondary cities.
24. Last but not least, the Agenda for Development of Secondary Cities advocate for **good data for better cities** and **capacity building** to strengthen the capacity of local governments to plan and manage its affairs and take evidence-based and well-informed decisions. The availability of reliable data and up-to-date information is a serious constraints in secondary cities as revealed by the analysis of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi. It jeopardizes urban policy making and urban management particularly considering the rapid rate of urban population growth. It also negatively affects the ability of secondary cities to anticipate and forecast development outcomes. There are endogenous institutions and local capacities to address this challenge in Sub Saharan African countries. Delegation of responsibilities and decentralization of resources from national statistical departments and national government institutions can make a difference and facilitate the development of good data for better cities. National Universities, research centers, think tanks, association of municipalities, private sector associations can be mobilized and play important roles in knowledge production through research and systematic data collection and produce evidence-based analysis on the city's economy, poverty, employment, environment, land, housing, infrastructure and so on. This includes mapping and reliable cartographic data to support urban planning and land management. The advance of digital mapping and diversification of commercial mapping may facilitate this.

25. The sustainable future of secondary cities lies on **the capacity of the local governments**. On the one hand, the institutional capacity and organizational efficiency. On the one hand, the ability of the technical and administrative personnel to plan, organize, monitor, control, deliver public policies, municipal services and oversee developments on the territory under its jurisdiction. The analysis of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi demonstrated the need of organizational change and performance improvement. It also unveiled structural problems such as low salaries, poor competencies and dependency on national governments. To initiate change, it is suggested to undertake a thorough institutional auditing via capacity gap analysis that will help to unveil the state of public administration, the local capacity of civil servant, the level of skills, competencies of the personnel and the organizational and institutional capacity as well as performance requirements and salary scales. In this way, reforms can be initiated to change and adapt the structure, functions, responsibilities and mandates, etc. that will lead to better local government performance. The conduct of training needs assessment is part and parcel of this institutional development endeavor in secondary cities.

2. INTRODUCTION

This is a **synthesis final report** that draws on the specific secondary city reports of **Arua (Uganda), Koudougou (Burkina Faso) and Nkayi (Congo)**. The report also draws on the findings and lessons learned from the extensive literature review about the broad subject of secondary cities in Africa, and the analysis of the various ongoing projects in these cities as well. The report also benefits from the analysis of benchmarked case studies. **Chapter 2** depicts the methodological background and the key findings of the literature review of the inception phase and the city reports.

The main findings of the combined analysis of the three cities reports are outlined in **Chapter 4**. It discloses the analysis per 6 dimensions adopted by the project since the inception phase. The problems and opportunities were assessed through 6 pillars or dimensions, namely **(1) Governance, (2) Citizenship, Population and Demographic Trends, (3) Economy, (4) Services and Infrastructure, (5) Environment, and (6) Spatial Form and Built-up Environment**.

The city reports provided an in-depth analysis of the three cities through these lens but the Synthesis Final Report amalgamates the findings and conclusions of the three cities into generic and universal findings and issues that seem to be recurrent in secondary cities in Africa. **For example, there is a persistent shortage of adequately trained personnel which highlights institutional and human capacity weaknesses across the secondary cities**. There is also a pervasive lack of financial resources and incredibly low level of revenue generation and a full dependency of central government transfers across the universe of secondary cities in Africa.

Chapter 5 presents an asset-based framework for action on secondary cities that draws on the analysis presented in the previous chapter. It recommends a framework to design interventions for structural transformation of secondary cities that focused on the three pillars: **(1) assets and means, (2) capacities and knowledge, and (3) finance and economic capital**.

Chapter 6 elaborates on the guiding principles for the proposed interventions in the three cities which builds on the entire body of analysis presented in the previous chapters. The programmes address the shortcomings found in the **three selected secondary cities in Burkina Faso, Congo and Uganda**. It becomes clear that integrated programming is critically needed as well as the identification of key stakeholders' roles and responsibilities. The interventions address governance and participation, economic competitiveness, the creation of conducive institutional environment, improvements in infrastructure and urban planning, and private sector participation.

Chapter 7 presents examples and references to benchmark approaches and lessons learned with secondary cities support. The examples from South Africa, Rwanda, Mauritania, USA and China demonstrate many similarities in terms of identified problems in secondary cities and the proposed approaches to address them. It reinforces the findings and proposals for Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi. For example, **the national-local relation is critical** and policies of decentralization and strengthening local governments carried out by national governments proved to be important. **National policies clearly set the path towards secondary cities** with the aim of achieving more equitable development in the territory. The role of local leadership and the institutional and human resources capacity. The more extensive analysis of these cases is provided in the **Annex**.

Chapter 8 develops an **Agenda for Development of Secondary Cities** in Sub Saharan Africa comprised of macro-level (national context) and micro-level (local context) interventions divided into 9 key spearheads that include the development of a vision of national urbanization coupled with the formulation of national urban policies and a spatial development framework that address rural-urban linkages. The micro level interventions focuses on the improvements in revenue collection, territorial planning to anticipate migration and urban expansion, infrastructure development and finance, civic

participation with emphasis on municipal budgeting. Capacity building and the production of data for better cities are actually cross-cutting all the proposed interventions

3. Background and Methodology

The Final Synthesis Report draws on the analysis of the **cities of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi**, under the Project “The Role and Functions of Secondary Cities in the Wider Development Picture, herein referred to as **Project**. The project has been commissioned by the European Commission (EC) through the DG International Partnerships, INTPA.F.4 Sustainable Transport and Urban Development. ACCIONA Ingenieria⁷ is the implementing party of the Framework Contract Consortium⁸. Three countries are targeted: **Burkina Faso, Republic of Congo and Uganda**. The **priority city** in each country was decided on a consultative process involving the EU Delegations (EUDs) in the respective countries and national and local partners, subsidised by the analysis, interviews and research carried out by the Project team during the inception phase, as noted in this report.

The Start of the Project: avoid duplication, consider ongoing projects and think broader

During **the kick-off meeting**⁹ between the Project team and the team of the INTPA F4 Unit, Sustainable Transport and Urban Development of the European Commission, the EC/INTPA F4 team expressed its vision and expectations about the Project under the context of the recently formulated Multi Annual Financial Framework (2021-2027) and the adopted Multiannual indicative programmes (MIPS) and Annual Action Plans 2021, describing actions for different countries including the three countries focused by the Project. The fatigue for studies, research, zoom meetings that do not result into concrete actions was an issue to consider. National and local authorities and EUDs should be on board in the three countries. The project team was advised ‘**to think broader, action oriented and avoid repetition, overlap and more of the same**’¹⁰. Ongoing projects and those in the pipeline should be taken into account in order to avoid overlapping and duplication and this highlighted the role of the EUDs. A list of selection criteria and possible suggestion of cities must be developed, also taking into account the political will. The TOR was discussed and further clarified.

Goal and Focus of the Project: develop an in-depth understanding of secondary cities

The project is an urban sector study and situation analysis that helps to build an understanding of the challenges specific to secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa. The overall global objective of the Project **is to understand the challenges specific to secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa**, and make a deep dive into a selected city in each country, **analysing the existing situation and local development context** in terms of institutional capacity, policies, human resources, planning, environment, infrastructure, housing, land, governance and municipal finance, and so forth, based on which **to propose concrete measures, suggested strategies and proposals** that may be considered by the EU in its development cooperation aiming at the strengthening of the role and functions of secondary cities in the wider development efforts.

This includes a proposed methodology to analyse and understand the development rationale in selected cities and implement concrete actions, which takes into account their specificities within the context of the country and their potential within the region where these cities are located, taking into consideration the political will and the possibilities for financing and ways to ensure sustainability. The project must bring forward suggested integrated development actions. Details of the assignment can be found in the TOR of the contract.

⁷ The Project team is comprised of Claudio Acioly Jr, Team Leader; Irina Yakimchuk, Project Manager; Elisa Maceratini, KE2; David Sims, KE3; James Mutero, KE4; Samuel Mabala, KE5; Leandre Guigma, KE6; Aimé Patrick Missamba-Lola, KE7; Revocatus Twinomuhangi, NKE2. Jamie Simpson, NKE1 and Mamadou Sembene, NKE3 finally did not participate. Backstopping, research and operational staff from ACCIONA Ingeniería was involved.

⁸ Under the Contract 300027055, Request for Services nr 2018-6586, FWC SIEA 2018, Lot 2- Infrastructure, Sustainable Growth and Jobs (EuropeAid/138778/DH/SER/Multi)

⁹ Meeting held on 17 January 2022.

¹⁰ Minutes of the Kick-off Meeting, January 17th, 2022.

The Inception Phase: urbanization is fastest in secondary cities and several challenges faced.

The Inception Report was submitted on 2nd of March and presented in a meeting held on 21st of March. The report presents the results of an extensive desk research and literature survey on urbanization and the role of secondary cities. The report provides some facts and figures about secondary cities and confirm that **urban growth is fastest in secondary towns globally**, providing a body of studies and publications that helps to understand the role and functions of these cities. The report further clarifies the terminology found in **the international literature that refers to interchangeably to intermediary cities, secondary cities, medium-sized cities based on a hierarchy of functions, population, urbanized area, size, status and type of functional specialization** e.g. cultural centre, religious, administrative/government, industrial, knowledge, tourism, etc.

The urbanization process taking place in Sub-Saharan Africa is accompanied by increasing **inequalities, low incomes and unprecedented unplanned urbanization** coupled with inefficient land-use occupation that generate urban forms that largely constraint the competitiveness of African cities. The report also underscores the specific urbanization challenges found in the countries under review, Burkina Faso, Congo and Uganda. It reveals findings derived from bilateral meetings with the EUDs in each country, key stakeholders and project teams engaged in each country. The inception report unveils the elements that need to be considered when choosing a city for future engagement of the EU, that is to say, an intrinsic relationship between city size, scale, population density and institutional capacity to adequately plan and manage rapid urbanization amongst the key attributes.

The analysis of the literature during the inception phase of the project provided evidences about the **critical factors to be considered when assessing the potential, weaknesses and strengths of secondary cities**. Issues range from land-use planning and ordinance to set parameters for property tax; sustainable urban form; participatory governance, fiscal policies and organization of own sources of revenue, amongst other things. It also revealed the need to further investigate the breadth, scale and density of economic activity that makes secondary cities viable and sustainable. These reviews provided the basis for the **analytical matrix adopted by the SCR Project Team, comprised of 6 dimensions as follows:**

- a. Governance,
- b. Citizenship, Population and Demographic Trends,
- c. Economy,
- d. Services and Infrastructure,
- e. Environment and,
- f. Spatial Form and Built Environment).

The Selection of Priority Cities: Arua (Uganda), Nkayi (Congo), and Koudougou (Burkina Faso)

The selection of Arua (361,000 inhabitants), Uganda, was made based on its proximity to the country's largest informal settlement, the largest refugee population, and the concentration of EU technical and financial support through different projects. A recent political administrative decision of government increased the city's jurisdiction from 10 Km² to 413 Km² amalgamating surrounding villages and rural areas. **The city has a unique location and plays the role of a transnational border town for the entire West Nile Region of Uganda and neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan, playing the role of the largest commercial and social coordination locality. It has become a business and trade centre of a wider region beyond the national borders hosting diverse groups and ethnicities with common language and cultural practices.** The population growth rate is nearly 4%, with households having an average size of 5.4 person per household. The influx of refugees and Internally Displaced Peoples-IDPs and the self-settled¹¹ refugees, mostly from DRC and Republic of

¹¹ The term self-settled refugees is used to define forced migrants from nearby countries who settle in urban areas and take care of themselves without expecting any assistance from the Government or UNHCR. They are not recognized by the Government of Uganda though they may hold a status of refugees who are assigned to live in determined refugee

South Sudan, has adversely affected basic service provision in the city. The City faces serious challenges that include but not limited to: inadequate staffing, inadequate financing, inadequate access to basic infrastructural and social service. Arua City experiences a youth bulge (80% of the population), with the youth constituting about 80% of the population, most of whom are unemployed and engaged in informal sector activities. Arua city has a tropical climate with the average mean temperature at 23.00C. Generally, temperatures are high throughout the year ranging between 210C to 320C, but in the dry season (December – March), temperatures can go beyond 390C. The prevailing wind is from the east to the west with frequent windstorms during the dry season.

The selection of Koudougou (160,000 inhabitants), Burkina Faso was agreed by the EUD and justified on the grounds of its **good economic development potentials and its relative absence of security problems**. Koudougou was a chosen based on the size of its population, the breadth of its economy, and the existing development assistance on which the project could build on. The city has a municipal status and institutional frameworks for infrastructure. **Koudougou lies in a territory that has higher surrounding settlement density and a robust agriculture**, with good rainfall levels, and lies 100 km from the capital, well-connected through paved national highways. Koudougou is situated on the functioning Ouagadougou-Abidjan rail line and enjoys a good one of the best road density of the Centre-West Region. The city is situated in a region (Centre West) with an estimated 20,000 IDPs, whereas other cities like Kaya (Centre Nord) has 510,000 IDPs, or 25 times more. This insecurity in Kaya has meant that hinterland villages are largely abandoned and local authorities are preoccupied with humanitarian efforts.

The selection of Nkayi (100,000 inhabitants), Congo, was based on its strategic location (Bouenza¹², region) along the axis that connects Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire which gives the city high level of connectivity with the sea, its rural-urban linkages and other towns and villages situated in Bouenza, and because of its still underexploited potential for economic growth and market development. The city does have a potential role to play in the agro-industrial sector. Nkayi hosts the most important sugar cane production industry of Congo and **the city has the potential to become an engine of economic diversification, specifically in the sector of agriculture, agroforestry, and Agri-industry**. Nkayi has become the most populated town in Bouenza since the 1960s, attracting people from surrounding towns and villages, but also from other regions. This was due to the presence of the railway station, the oil mill (it is now closed) and the sugar industry, currently managed by the SARIS-Congo company, which distributes Congolese sugar in the CEMAC¹³. **The position of the city, along the RN1 road and near the railway line, makes it a point of reference for the region and the inhabitants of the neighboring countryside**, who reach Nkayi for the hospital, the schools or looking for job opportunities. **Nkayi plays the role of a hinge** between the towns of Madingou, Loudima, Bouanza and Loutété, **but has not yet developed the potential of pole of the economic balance** that was assigned by the SNAT¹⁴ in 2005.

settlement.

¹² Bouenza is a department of the Republic of the Congo in the southern part of the country. It borders the departments of Lékoumou, Niari, and Pool, and internationally, the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The regional capital is Madingou. Towns and cities include Loudima, Mouyondzi, Loutété and Nkayi.

¹³ *Communauté Économique et Monétaire de l'Afrique centrale*.

¹⁴ SNAT is the National Spatial Planning Scheme.

4. Main findings from analysis of secondary cities

This section focuses on the conclusive analysis of three secondary cities, namely Arua (Uganda), Koudougou (Burkina Faso) and Nkayi (Congo). The project made a deep dive into the institutional and developmental contexts of these cities in order to acquire a deeper understanding of the challenges that are specific to secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa.

A fundamental question to answer through this synthesis final report is whether the findings and conclusions drawn from the analysis of these three cities can be transposed to generic conclusions about secondary cities in Africa as a whole. And if so, does it make sense to formulate general recommendations and responses that can guide interventions to make secondary cities a viable and sustainable place to live and work in Africa?

A methodological approach was adopted to structure the analysis and unfold critical issues that play a role in secondary cities. A review of the international literature at the beginning of the project unveiled that it would be essential to analyse the institutional capacity of the city administration and the governance of the city with its laws, rules and regulations and the interaction with other stakeholders. Equally important was the analysis of the city economy and its finance, its growth in terms of population and physical size and its relationship with the environment and built-up space. This included as well as the ability of the city to organize and collect taxes and generate local revenues to strengthen basic services provision.

For this purpose, the analytical and methodological framework enabled the systemic analysis of the cities and drew well-structured and comparative conclusions that enlighten our understanding about the role and functions of secondary cities in the wider development scenario. The analysis framework was structured on 6 pillars or dimensions, namely (1) Governance, (2) Citizenship, Population and Demographic Trends, (3) Economy, (4) Services and Infrastructure, (5) Environment, and (6) Spatial Form and Built-up Environment. **Figure no 1** illustrates the summarized the amalgamated results of the analysis of each pillar in the three cities. This figure shows the common features found in the three cities.

The cities of ARUA (361,400 inhabitants), Koudougou (160,000 inhabitants) and Nkayi (100,000 inhabitants) are typical secondary cities in Africa and in their specific countries. The analysis presented in the specific City Reports and in this final synthesis provides us with a sound basis to understand the type of challenges faced by secondary cities and ways to overcome these barriers in order to turn these cities a sustainable place to live and work.

4.1 Key Findings in One Paragraph

The analysis of these cities¹⁵ revealed that, on the one hand, secondary cities do not have the needed human resources with the skills and competencies to create transformational activities, innovations, and businesses to bring to scale economic activities that are sufficiently robust to build a viable market of tradeable and untradeable goods¹⁶. There are clearly opportunities and advantages linked to the location and the relation the city has with the agricultural areas and the broad city region where it is

¹⁵ City Reports on Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi.

¹⁶ In general, many goods are classified as tradable while nearly all services are classified as non-tradable. **Non-tradeable goods** include many services that can (in most cases) only be provided locally, such as hairdressing, medical treatment or electricity; it also includes items such as water supply, all public services, tourism, hotel accommodation, real estate, construction, local transportation; goods with very high transportation costs such as gravel; and commodities produced to meet special customs or conditions of the country. **A tradable good** is a good that can be sold in another location, typically another country, from where it was produced as opposed to a non-tradable good, which cannot. Common tradable goods are wheat, soybeans, gold, oil, silver, livestock, coffee, sugar, cotton, corn, frozen orange juice, and natural gas.

located. This is essential in order to be able to retain with jobs and opportunities a largely young and economically active population.

On the other hand, the local government of these cities suffer from a chronic shortage of adequately trained personnel at various levels and specializations that adversely affects the institutional capacity to design, plan, manage and execute public policies, programmes and projects that anticipate the rapid population growth that these cities are experiencing. Neither are they capable to organize, collect and use its own source of revenues and create sources to finance the provision of infrastructure and basic urban services. At any rate, fiscal transfers from the national government will be necessary for many years to come as local revenues, even with efficient collection, are unlikely to be enough to finance city infrastructure deficits. A major constraint, in this regard, is that national governments generally monopolize the tax bases that readily yield the highest revenues¹⁷. Moreover, poorly developed capital markets and the poor creditworthiness of the typical secondary city rule out subnational borrowing¹⁸. Solid waste collection, waste and rainwater drainage, electricity supply, potable water and sewerage are poorly provided. Secondary cities are resource-poor but are largely overburden given the annual population growth rate that these cities experience. Paradoxically it happens where they are most needed given that the bulk of global urbanization, and particularly in Africa, is taking place at the secondary cities.

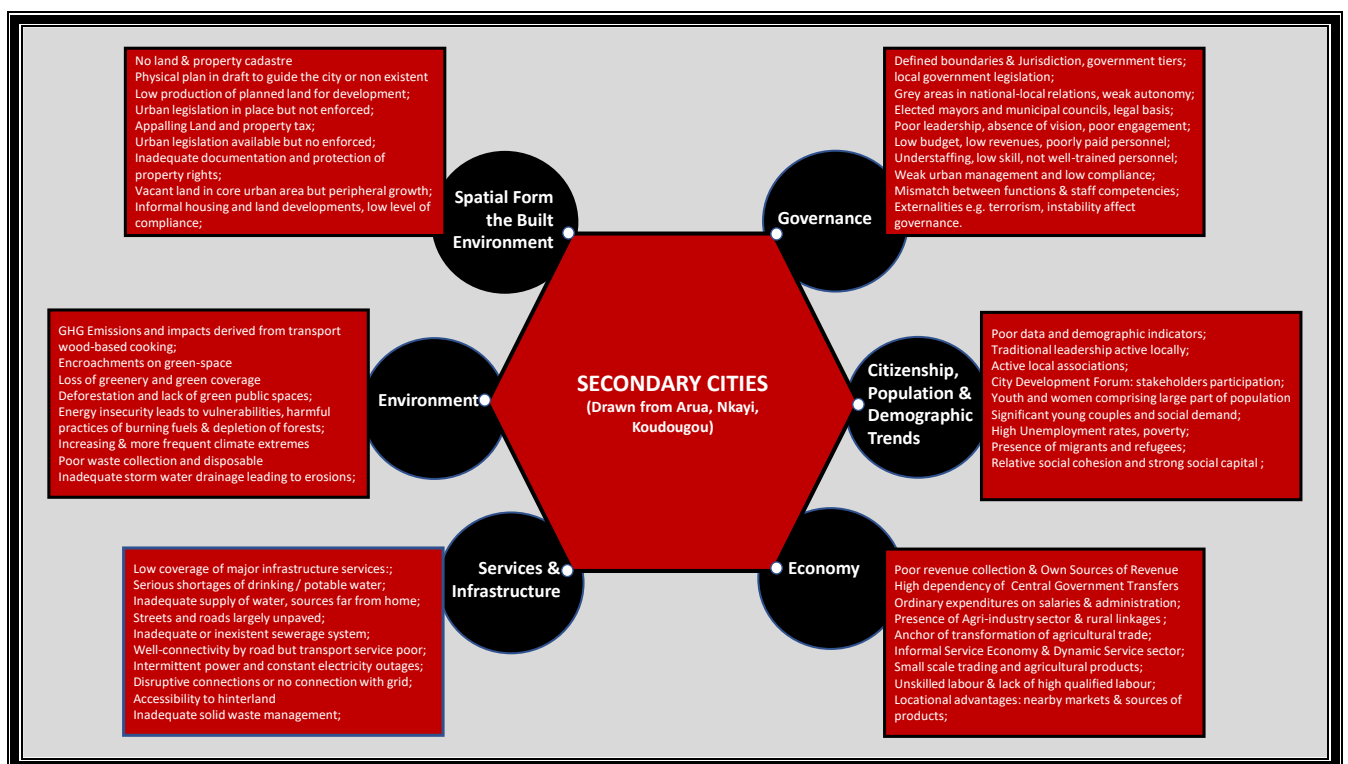


Figure 1: Summary of Conclusions of the Analysis of the Six Dimensions of Secondary Cities Development

4.3 Problem Analysis

The framework of analysis for the three cities¹⁹ unveil a set of common and generic issues that hinder the development of secondary cities. Problem analysis entailed a critical review of documentation and

¹⁷ UN-Habitat (2015) "The Challenge of Local Government Financing in Developing Countries"

¹⁸ Potential exists, in countries with a well-established financial sector (e.g. Uganda), for innovative financial mechanisms to support city economic growth.

¹⁹ Arua (Uganda), Koudougou (Burkina Faso) and Nkayi (Congo)

reports of government, available data in census and grey literature, field visit and interviews with key stakeholders, organization of focus group meetings, workshops, and a series of online sessions. The problem analysis adopted **the analytical framework based on 6 dimensions followed by a SWOT Analysis** that synthesized some conclusive ways forward for the three specific cities.

The results outlined below reflect an attempt to come from specifics (the cities in three countries) to the generic universe (secondary cities in Africa). In this way, we can strive to make propositions that are suitable and fit for purpose of secondary cities in Africa. The SWOT Analysis enabled the formulation of generic conclusions for the future of secondary cities in Africa taking into account the existing drivers of development, the constraints and the assets found in the cities.

4.4 Governance

Secondary cities do have reasonably defined legal physical boundaries and jurisdiction and are governed by locally elected governments, that are part and parcel of tiers of government, functioning under the regulation of specifically enacted legislation outlining functions and responsibilities. Despite of **policies of decentralization**, there is still a lot of grey areas which prevent devolution and genuine municipal autonomy. **Externalities** such as terrorism, conflict, large influx of refugees and political instability adversely affect the stability of governance and the representative democracy in these cities. There are often mayors, municipal councillors, local politicians overseeing or legislating but **weak leadership, lack of transparency and accountability**, lead to absence of vision and low capacity to mobilize the social capital existing in these cities. There is a common and chronic shortage of financial resources, low budgets, low revenue generation and **lack of own sources of revenue** that ultimately affect even the pay of personnel and the offer of well-paid jobs in the public administration. This ubiquitous situation leads to understaffing, high turn-over of staff and loss of efficiency and capacity to manage a city. There is clearly a mismatching between the roles and functions and required competencies and the actual people's skills of those sitting on the functions.

4.5 Citizenship, Population and Demographics

Secondary cities, as revealed by the three case-cities, have poor data and lack accurate and up-to-date knowledge about its dynamics, demographic growth and the physical changes in its territory. **Baseline information** for policy making and monitoring is poor or inexistent. This leads to the inability to plan, predict, anticipate and act on public policies. The population is largely young with a significant parcel of the population being women. **Traditional leadership and community groups** do interact with the local government through stakeholders' forums and civil society associations. The social capital in the cities are usually not optimally used, resulting into poor participation records and missing opportunities for social engagement in local development. Occasional consultations on plans and budgets do occur. **Youth and women** form significant segment of the population who face high rates of unemployment and increasing poverty. Secondary cities are becoming unequal. This reflects into a geography of social exclusion with large parts of the population living in informal and poorly serviced settlements and inadequate housing. **A large social segment is employed in petty trade** in the informal sector, earning low and undocumented income, and lacking training and vocational education opportunities²⁰. Secondary cities are recipients of migrants, and in areas where there are conflicts or climate-related events, recipients of refugee populations though reveal a sound degree of social cohesion amongst its residential areas.

4.6 Basic Services and Infrastructure

Secondary cities suffer from **inadequate supply of potable water, sewerage, waste water treatment, solid waste collection and poor drainage systems**. In some cases, there is a rampant low number of

²⁰ Koudougou exceptionally provides opportunities for high education. It is clearly becoming an educational hub.

individual connections to some of these key public utilities networks. Major access roads are paved but intra-urban street networks largely unpaved and without a landscape treatment. Erosions and gullies are frequently underscored as problems found in secondary cities for this reason. In some cases, there is a serious shortage of water which pushes people to fetch potable water from places away from home. School and health facilities are available but very often overstretched due to high demand. In cities that are recipient of refugees, the supply does not meet the rapid increase of demand for educational and public health services. It is common to find intermittent power supply and frequent electricity outages, with secondary cities facing obstacles related to the electricity grid coverage. Altogether, **poor infrastructure provision** adversely affects the business environment and people's life. Public transport is virtually nil, with services inadequately provided by two-wheels motor vehicles or vans. Urban mobility is an issue in secondary cities urban expansion in the absence of affordable housing options, pushing people to existing urban core slums or informal land developments in peripheral lands. Connectivity with the broad city region and hinterland based on road transport varies which affects transport of rural products and crops into the city markets. Logistics, storage and warehousing appear as emerging problems in those secondary cities holding a close relation with the rural areas and places of crops and rural production.

4.7 The City Economy

The rural-urban linkages are important for the economy of secondary cities as well as its connections, accessibility and connectivity with major larger towns and broader city region. **Potentials in the Agri-industry sector** and linkages with hinterland often do exist but it is not exploited to its maximum potential thus severely limiting the production of tradable goods. Transport and logistics do not find its place in public policies in order to generate maximum benefit from the comparative locational advantages of secondary cities which would help to become and anchor of **transformation of agricultural trade** towards national and even global markets. The economic role and function of secondary cities in the regional economy does not find its place in regional development and national policies and fund allocation from central governments. There is a dominant **informal service economy**, a dynamic but inefficient service sector with agricultural products (primary sector) associated with the cities' economies. There is massive small scale trading, services and jobs for unskilled labour that drive the informal economy. There is **a lack of high qualified labour** and only occasional one finds higher education institutions and vocational training centres settled in secondary cities. The organization and participation of the private sector finds a mix of situations in secondary cities but it is largely not mobilized to a scale that can transform and scale-up business opportunities in secondary cities.

Municipal finance is a critical matter in secondary cities. Only a tiny and nearly insignificant portion of the city budget is originated from its **Own Sources of Revenues (OSR's)**. Secondary cities are fully dependent on government transfers and grants from national governments ranging from 60% to 90% of the budget though there is a growing interest for improving the tax base²¹ and seek more efficiency in collection and organization of OSR's, with increasing support from international development cooperation, World Bank and national programmes. **Land and property taxes** are commonly not well-organized in the absence of a physical land cadastre or poorly established land and property registration systems. This negatively affects market developments. It also results into an inability to generate revenues for self-financing its development programmes. Ordinary expenditures are commonly concentrated on salaries and administration, leaving little or nothing for capital investments. Even with improved local revenue collection, many secondary cities will for many years

²¹ "Although property tax revenues across the continent are an abysmally small share of GDP, African cities are outperforming their countries in growing annual property tax revenues. As they begin to enjoy the virtuous cycle of tax base growth through infrastructure investments, their commitment to and success at using the property tax will only improve", in Riël Franzsen and William McCluskey (2017). Property Tax in Africa. Status, challenges, and prospects. Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, USA.

continue to require fiscal transfers from the national government as their tax bases are generally inadequate and difficult to leverage.

4.8 Spatial Form and Build Environment

Secondary cities expand their **urban land coverage** very often without a physical spatial plan enacted and used for land allocation and investments in basic infrastructure. Where these plans exist, they are often disrespected. It is common to find ad-hoc urban projects, informal land developments and slum formation that reveal a very low level of compliance to norms and regulations in building and planning in largely uncontrolled and unplanned urbanization. This type of development is affecting the competitiveness and efficiency of the urban systems of cities, creating barriers for the circulation of goods and people, accessibility to jobs and income, and hindering provision of public utility networks. This is further worsening by the fact that a majority of the street network in secondary cities remain unpaved. Secondary cities are rapidly expanding towards peripheral land and seeing its slums densifying, particularly in those located on land in prime locations. There is a chronic shortage of developable land, serviced land, and inadequate law enforcement. Customary land ownership continues to co-exist with roman-based of property rights regime where landowners tend to dictate the pace of land development in view of weak local government and poor law enforcement capacity. There are inadequate documented and protected property rights. Informal land and housing developments seem to be the dominant form of urban development, with housing remaining unaffordable. Secondary cities by large do not explore land-based finance, property tax and land management and its potentials to boost housing and real estate markets.

4.9 Environmental Services

Greenhouse Gas Emissions (GHG's) in secondary cities are mostly generated from transportation, deforestation, cooking practices, informal garbage burning and solid waste dumping sites and landfills. The poor provision of public transport leads to massive use of privately run services of vans and motorbikes and generates places of congestion and pollution in the urban fabric of cities. By large, secondary cities have inadequate collection and treatment of solid waste which are other sources of environmental degradation and pollution. Informal and predatory encroachments on green spaces and urban forestry results into loss of trees and green coverage. This is accentuated by the use of wood in domestic cooking. During the recent years, it is observed that **increasing and more frequent climate-related extreme events** have brought severe drought and flooding and causing impact on seasonal labouring in the city. The public space of the urban fabric of secondary cities commonly reveals the urbanization pattern that depletes greenery and wipes trees, increasing the carbon footprint of the urbanized areas and heat zones in cities. The chronic lack of storm water systems and massive amounts of unpaved roads further increase the erosion and problems of urban gullies.

4.10 Drivers of development in secondary cities (strengths and opportunities)

Ongoing **decentralisation policies** offer opportunities to strengthen the financial and human resources capacity of local governments, achieve more transfer of funds and more autonomy to deal with its own resources despite the troubled devolution and fiscal decentralisation. The existence of a young population can activate channels of participation if supported by local organizations, taking advantage of regulations and norms that incentivize civil society participation in local governance. This can certainly become a breeding ground for the rise of new and fresh leadership. The various ongoing international development projects can become vehicles to stimulate the capacity building of young adults to play a more active role in economic development of their city. Training of young people can develop new skills, lead to innovations, start-ups and the development of the service industry and create jobs that make use of their entrepreneurial potential.

There appear to exist **strong rural-based Agri-pastoral businesses**, or the potentials to nurture its development, particularly when secondary cities are situated within reach of a hinterland that is rich in agricultural production, that strengthens rural-urban linkages and provides a springboard for local economic development. **The locational advantages** of secondary cities vis-à-vis its broader city region and their connection to major towns (consumption centres with the advantage of the economies of agglomerations) are factors to be seriously considered when repositioning secondary cities in the wider development scenario. **The potential of logistical and commercial sectors** related to storage and distribution of agricultural commodities should not be disregarded when envisioning the role of secondary cities vis-à-vis its hinterland and wider city-region. Location is a critical factor, and the proximity to natural assets such as rivers, forests, parks and dams can generate benefits for secondary cities' development if these assets are incorporated into the development strategy boosting tourism, hospitality, sports, leisure and entertainment.

It is clear that **the availability of specific infrastructure**, such as the example of the fibre optics in Nkayi and hospitality sector in Koudougou, make connections, connectivity and business development much easier and promising if its exploitation is embedded in the city development strategy. Improved infrastructure is certainly a condition for boosting the development of secondary towns. Cities that have **established an urban basic grid**, a rational spatial configuration²², earlier on in their historic expansion and development via urban plans and land-use ordinances have managed to generate a network of streets that do offer a well laid out spatial structure easier to accommodate future orderly growth, densification and infill developments. Not mentioning making it easier the investment in infrastructure and allocation of land for planned development.

4.11 Assets and Restraining Forces Hindering Secondary Cities' Progress.

The analysis of the three cities highlighted critical restraining forces that compromise the development and economic growth of secondary cities hindering them to take full advantage of the existing driving forces that may boost its development. These findings coincide with the results of the study carried out by UN-Habitat and UNICEF on secondary towns in Sub Saharan Africa that looked into multiple deprivations focused on citywide and household levels, with an in-depth analysis of six secondary towns in Kenya and Zambia²³. These deprivations are grouped under the following dimensions: city/town governance, economic, water and sanitation, living environment, education, health and crime. It looks at it with a children and youth lens. The study reveals the lack of data systems for monitoring growth and informing decision-making, inadequate infrastructure, weak economies and low human capital development, inadequate governance, high unemployment rates, and poor access to water and sanitation. But it also reveals the strategic opportunities and untapped resources of secondary cities.

The analysis made under the 6 dimensions depicted herein this report lead us to conclude that there are interconnected issues that cannot be singled out in sector and unilateral policies. There is a need to look at **the assets of the city** and launch a virtuous cycle of integrated interventions that touches the improvement of the governance and institutional and organizational capacity of local governments concomitantly with the strengthening of the human capital in the city government as well as in civil society. So that the interplay between the design, planning and execution of public policies, programmes and projects, and local leaderships and social organizations results into meaningful outcomes for the city. What are the restraining forces that undermine the assets of secondary cities' development? The assets of secondary cities are grouped under the following: **(a)**

²² The inception report unveiled conclusions drawn from two World Bank studies showing the importance of city's urban form for generating accessibility to jobs, income, and the broad economy.

²³ UN-Habitat & UNICEF (2020). Analysis of Multiple Deprivations in Secondary Cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. <https://www.unicef.org/esa/media/5561/file/Analysis%20of%20Multiple%20Deprivations%20in%20Secondary%20Cities%20-%20Analysis%20Report.pdf>

institutional capital, (b) human capital, (c) social capital; (d) financial capital, I physical capital and (f) environmental capital.

ASSETS	RESTRAINING FORCES
(a) Institutional Capital	<p>Decentralization has not empowered secondary cities with the needed institutions, legal instruments, and policy tools to effectively define, plan and implement its priorities and monitor its outcomes. Devolution of power and resources did not follow policy decisions to decentralize government functions to local governments. The public administration faces a chronic bureaucratic inertia, low salaries and disenfranchising, with its autonomy often undermined by line ministries/central government. Institutions function without the desired level of accountability and transparency leading to a general low level of confidence amongst its constituents in civil society. National-local relations are tensed and push back decentralisation resulting in inadequate levels of political, administrative and financial autonomy.</p>
(b) Human Capital	<p>There is a weak or non-existent human capacity within the local administration of secondary cities due to lack of well-trained technical cadre and qualified human resources that affect the planning, management, and execution of basic functions of government. This also affects the ability to plan and manage its territory. There is similar situation at the legislative and elective bodies of government e.g. municipal councils. Local elected leadership is in dire need of capacity building in order to perform their functions in a pro-active, creative, transparent and efficient manner. Outside the public administration, secondary cities are plagued by poverty and increasing inequality that affect livelihood and quality of life and impact adversely on human capital. The inadequate supply of professional training and vocational, polytechnic education keeps a potential labour force marginal to market developments and demand from private companies.</p>
(c) Social Capital	<p>There is a suitable population scale and often sufficient social cohesion that makes it easier to mobilize the social capital in secondary cities than in larger and primary cities. Though, a young and economically active population is not tapped into local development actions, remaining unemployed and/or involved in informal sector petty trade and services, without adequate training and education opportunities, and without the skills needed to upgrade the labour market and widen their opportunities to contribute to economic development. Poverty, inequality and unemployment are critical restraining forces affecting social capital in secondary cities. Social and grassroots organizations and local community leadership do not find appropriate institutional channels to voice their needs and concerns and thus remain outside the domains of public policy. Migrants and refugees are usually settled in informal areas, and in some countries like Uganda, they are integrated into local affairs, but often not in the social care, health and welfare systems.</p>
(d) Financial Capital	<p>Secondary cities are overburden and under-financed²⁴. They are heavily dependent on central government transfers and grants and use most of its resources to pay for the administration and salaries of personnel.</p> <p>There is a lack of economic capacity of the municipality to make investments and tools to raise funds and restrictions imposed on borrowing or using other tools to raise revenues. In many cases, their tax bases are inadequate and difficult to leverage as the</p>

²⁴ Secondary cities: Overburdened, under financed. 8th May 2015. <https://www.devfinance.net/secondary-cities-overburdened-under-financed/>

	<p>national government typically reserves for itself the most lucrative taxes. In addition, subnational borrowing is generally ruled out by poorly developed capital markets and the poor creditworthiness of the typical secondary city. The Cadastre is often not established nor updated. Property tax is inadequate and there is insufficient revenues generated from its Own Source of Revenues (OSR's). The chronic absence of a cadastre and a reliable land-use and property registration makes it more difficult to set a tax base and install a property tax regime with established practice of maintenance and update, valuation, billing, revenue collection and enforcement. Inadequate fiscal capacity and autonomy hinders the progress of secondary cities.</p> <p>This results into a continuous lack of financial resources to support local development and weak investment capacity in basic urban infrastructure and services.</p>
<p>(e) Physical Capital</p>	<p>Not all secondary cities have a physical plan to guide its spatial development and built-up environment; when it exists, it is mostly disrespected by largely informal developments, informal building processes. Urban expansion takes place in the absence of enforcement capacity of the local administration, weak planning systems, low compliance with norms and regulations and not well-trained technical cadre. This affects the supply of planned serviced land and compromises investments in infrastructure which by default adversely affect the availability of affordable housing and compromises the quality of the living environment.</p> <p>The universal access to basic infrastructure such as potable water, wastewater and sanitation systems, electricity supply and solid waste collection is appalling in secondary cities by large. Investments in infrastructure lags behind population growth and urban expansion. Management, maintenance, tariff setting, collection of service fees are not always well-organized and public utility companies are often in dire state of insolvency. Altogether, scarcity of infrastructure impacts on the physical capital of secondary cities. While major access roads, highways, and even railroads and airfields facilitate access and connections to other urban centres and the broad city region, secondary cities face serious backlog in pavement and storm drainage within its urban fabric. Roads linking secondary cities to its hinterlands are often not paved either.</p> <p>The lack of a logistics and warehousing compromise storage and the local market of commodities in secondary cities and this makes it difficult the absorption of production of agricultural products and the production flow. This weakens rural-urban linkages and the connection between the city economy and its hinterland and broad city-region, particularly where there is a robust agriculture. Public transport is costly, poorly provided and rely mostly on privately run van and motorbike services, or on foot. Journeys in Africa are mostly done on foot²⁵.</p> <p>Education and health facilities do exist but are overstretched and not meeting the needs of an increasing demand derived from population growth and the arrival of new migrants and refugees.</p>
<p>(f) Environmental Capital</p>	<p>There is scarcity of data about environmental conditions and assessment of air quality, waste disposal, transport and mobility-related emissions, and different ecosystem in secondary cities meaning that evidence of rising air pollution, its impact on people's health and climate change impacts remains anecdotal²⁶ or poorly reported.</p>

²⁵ "In cities like Addis Ababa, Kisumu, Dire Dawa, Kampala, Mombasa, Nairobi or Dar es Salaam between 40-60% of all trips are done on foot. A large part of the remaining trips (10-45%) are covered by (informal) public transport while individual motorization is comparatively low". In Why the future of African cities should be walkable. 23 Sep 2021.

<https://www.mobiliseyourcity.net/why-future-african-cities-should-be-walkable>

²⁶ Cities Alliance & African Development Bank (2022) The Dynamics of Systems of Secondary Cities in Africa: Urbanisation, Migration and Development.

https://www.afdb.org/sites/default/files/2022/05/16/the_dynamics_of_systems_of_secondary_cities_in_africa_urbanisati

There is a need to develop data and establish **baseline information** and indicators that will enable secondary cities to take more control of their environmental capital, put in place measurement processes and track climate change. This is critical for designing climate change mitigation and adaptation measures.

The analysis of the three cities under this project revealed that on the one hand the increase of **frequency and severity of climate-related events** represent a threat for secondary cities that are situated within and maintains a close relation with its broad hinterland.

The influx of migrants and refugees²⁷ in secondary cities is often closely associated with droughts and floods that are becoming more frequent and more intense in Africa.

On the other, **major environmental assets** such as rivers and water courses, dams, forests and national parks that are situated within the broad city-region represent assets that can encourage developments in hospitality, eco-tourism, and sustainability initiatives. On the other hand, these environmental assets are being threatened by local practices of cutting wood for cooking, deforestation to making room for encroachments and predatory urbanization and aleatory land occupation.

5. An Asset-based Framework for Action

There is an increasing and genuine interest about secondary cities. The review of literature carried out during the inception phase of the project confirms this. There is an increasing understanding about the role of secondary cities, their potential role, being part and parcel of efforts of decentralization and devolution like in the case of Uganda and Kenya, but also about their administrative and economic functions within the framework of national urban policies that calls for a network of cities and human settlements interconnected within the broad regional and national territory²⁸. The question about the ability of secondary cities to provide logistics and warehousing storage, commercial services and trade and support economic development and deconcentrating population and economic activities becomes extremely relevant.

The analysis presented above demonstrate that there are many challenges facing secondary cities and a lot needs to happen in order that they can become a sustainable and viable place to live and work and play the roles and functions that policy makers expect them to play, and be able to produce an economic density, a viable market for tradeable and non-tradeable goods. And by doing so being able to retain the largely young and economically active population providing job opportunities, infrastructure, land and affordable housing opportunities. Although secondary cities have a series of assets, they do face **two vital and extraordinary challenges: capacity and financial resources**. The **Figure 2** below illustrates a framework of action in diagrammatic form.

The analysis of the assets of the secondary city is likely to lead to **the design of interventions that drawn on its strength and available assets (1)** as outlined above. Cities do have different assets on which one can build development policies. And these should be built on and take advantage of the drivers of development, mitigating the adverse and restraining impacts found within the structure and functions of local governments and outside in its development and territorial contexts. These are important means of development to succeed in transformative policies.

At the same time, one needs **to tackle the capacity gap (2)**. Not only the capacity of local governments, its institutional and human resources capacities dealing with functions, competencies, career plan, technical and policy skills but also financial and administrative competencies. A capacity gap assessment and training needs assessment will reveal where the most urgent capacity and knowledge gaps are and what areas need to be strengthened and how.

There is an **urgent need to develop knowledge (2)**, skills and competencies within the local authority so that the quality of government can improve steering and management of secondary city growth, anticipating, planning and provide a foundation for local economic development. This does not exclude a continuous and systematic capacity development in the civil society domain. Improvements in the entrepreneurship of women and young adults in particular, promoting **research and development** that can lead to innovation and technological applications, generating a virtuous cycle of economic development. This should include but not limited to **the production of data and information** that are relevant to policy making and implementation.

²⁸ UN-Habitat & UNICEF (2020). Analysis of Multiple Deprivations in Secondary Cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. Nairobi: UN-Habitat; Christiaensen, Luc & Ravi Kanbur (2016). Secondary Towns and Poverty Reduction. Refocusing the urbanization Agenda. Washington: World Bank. Cities Alliance & African Development Bank (2022) The Dynamics of Systems of Secondary Cities in Africa: Urbanisation, Migration and Development. Brussels: Cities Alliance.

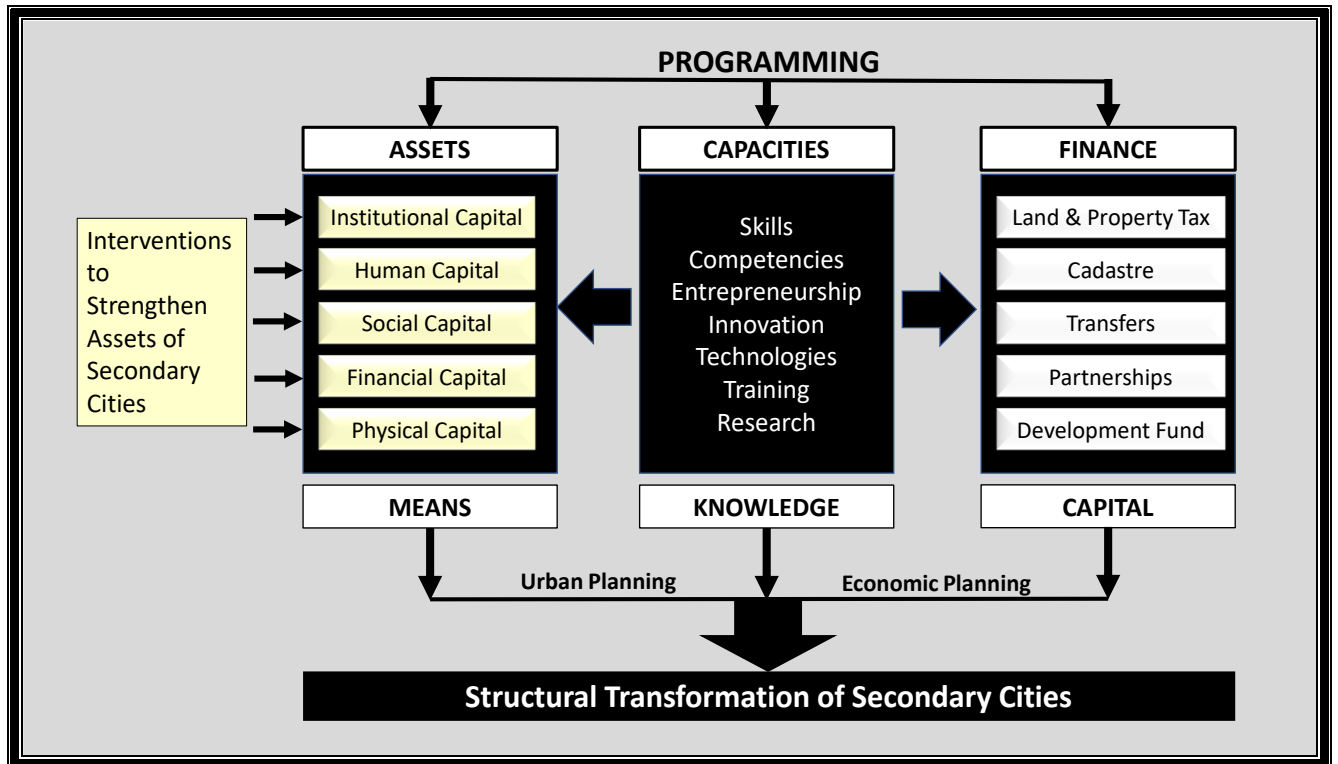


Figure 2: Framework of Actions for Secondary Cities

Without financial resources (3) it is nearly impossible to achieve sustained development change in secondary cities. This is another challenge. The city reports²⁹ unveiled a pervasive lack of own sources of revenue and high dependency on transfer from central government and grants. The solution of this problem is closely associated with the governance system and national-local relations, that needs to be improved, and with the regulatory framework that governs the function of local governments. Making devolution and decentralization work is likely to improve efficiency and benefit secondary cities. Another benefit would be to mainstream the principle that finance follows function and thus transfer resources to secondary cities that are commensurate with the devolved functions. Nevertheless, it is necessary to strengthen the organization, collection, retrieval and use of own sources of revenues (OSR's) so that the ability to plan and make investment in infrastructure and service provision can be improved incrementally. An important source of funding is the land and property cadastre. The incremental development and establishment of cadastre is a time and resources well-spent that will yield financial resources on a mid and long-term basis for the city. The documentation, protection and security of property rights registration are sine-qua-non conditions for market development and revenues generation and a cadastre can yield this. Secondary cities should also consider public-private-community partnerships and the establishment of municipal development funds in cooperation with national governments, private sector associations and international development partners. Altogether this should yield the badly needed access to financial capital.

It goes without saying that there is no "one fits all solution". The generic problem analysis drawn from the three cities report need to be resounded on the problems faced by the city in question and based on a systematic problem analysis driven by data, baseline information and participants' observations³⁰. The adoption of policies and actions to strengthen secondary cities reveal a value

²⁹ The city reports on Arua (Uganda), Koudougou (Burkina Faso) and Nkayi (Congo)

³⁰ Participants' observation (PO) is a research methodology in which the researcher is engaged in situ with the activities, processes and projects of the people who lead, plan, participate and have first-hand experience in the locality. The field work, interviews, focus groups meetings organized for the city reports are meant to fulfil this and provide meaningful

chain of actions and expected results that are all interconnected. For example, by addressing issues related to the institutional capital of the city is likely to impact on actions being undertaken in the social capital of the city. This leads to integrated programming and implementation which is likely to yield the highest impact. See the diagram in **Figure 3**.

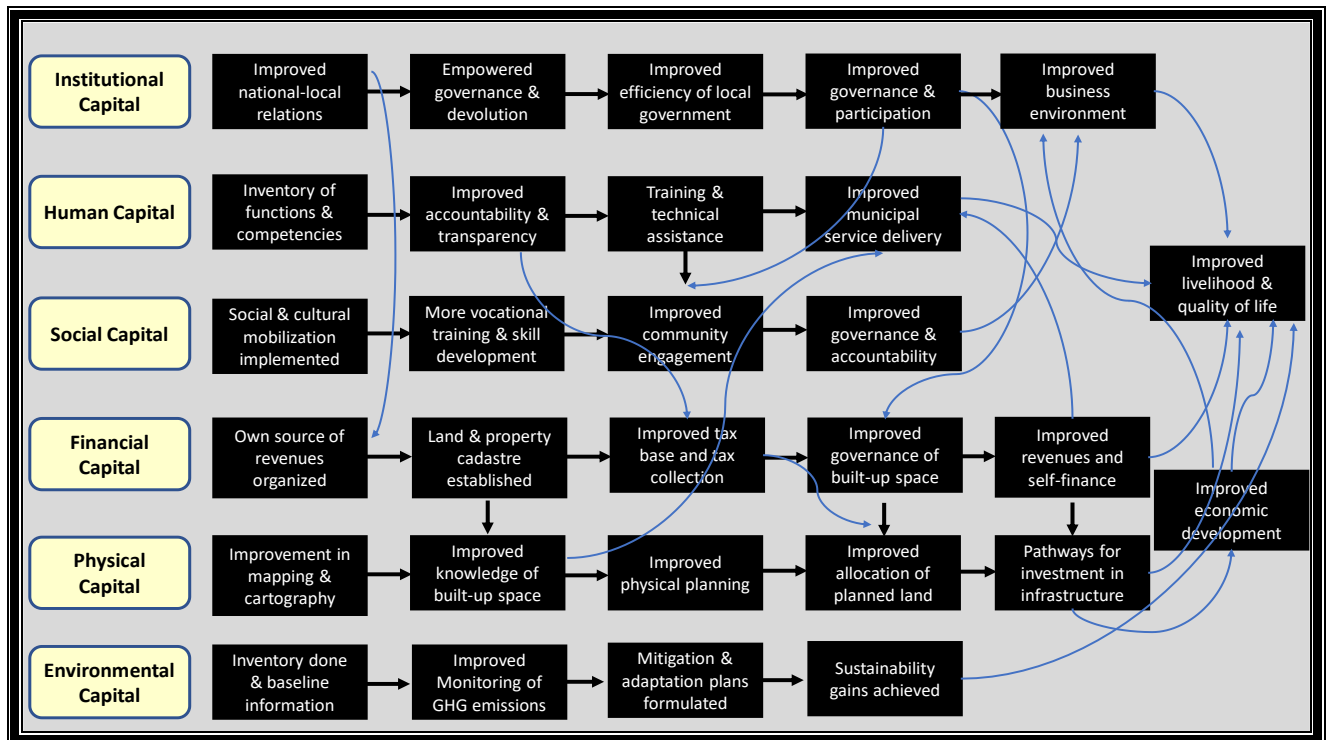


Figure 3: Assets of Secondary Cities and Chain of Interventions

COMMENTARY:

The analysis of the three cities in Burkina Faso, Congo and Uganda, and the broad secondary cities universe in Africa described herein this report reveals a reality of secondary cities facing several challenges and some structural problems.

This synthesis report brings forward conclusive statements about these constraints, shortcomings and barriers that hinder secondary cities and prevent them to play a meaningful role in the broad development context in which they are situated.

But the report has also highlighted opportunities and the assets of secondary cities on which to build development change.

The report has brought these problems to the forefront with objectivity though it may give to the reader a sense of overwhelming scope of challenges.

However, it goes without saying that this knowledge is essential for governments to formulate concrete and meaningful actions that must be incrementally implemented to bring the desired changes on those cities that committed to and are striving for economic development and better quality of life to their citizens.

information for the conclusions and recommendations herein formulated.

6. Guiding principles for interventions in secondary cities

This section summarizes the guiding principles and approaches adopted for the proposed interventions in the cities of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi. To address the problems found in these three cities, integrated programmes combining multiple activities were formulated. These are consistent with and aligned with the framework of action presented previously in this report. For more detailed information about the problem analysis and the justifications for the proposed interventions, see the City reports and Chapter 4 of this report. The suggested programmes in the three cities share a core focus on economic development, infrastructure development and improvement in revenue generation in order to increase the financial capacity of cities. The economic density needed to make secondary cities a vibrant and sustainable place is also a common issue of concern. Ultimately, the goal is to promote a structural transformation of secondary cities.

The need for capacity building is also a recurrent theme across all secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa and it is not different in Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi. It is embedded into the proposed interventions in all the three cities. On the side of the public administration, there is a need to strengthen institutional and human resources capacity so that it can better manage and plan its affairs and provide municipal services better and more efficiently. On the side of the citizenry, there is a need to improve the quality and effectiveness of public participation and civic engagement. Therefore, there is a need to improve the capacity and the level of awareness of civil society stakeholders, both from the private and community sectors, to participate and engage in local development and decision making on issues that directly affect them and can voice their demands and needs to the local government.

Two issues stand out, namely Governance and the Urban Form and Built Environment. The rules, norms, regulations and institutions that govern the process of planning, management and decision-making in secondary cities are equally important as urban planning which anticipates and guides urban expansion, planned land supply for basic infrastructure provision and affordable housing developments. This will prepare the city for future and present urban expansion and provide adequate responses to the demographic pressure and increasing demand for land, housing, infrastructure and services.

6.1 Guiding Principles for the City Development Program in Koudougou

For the city of Koudougou to fulfill its role and function as secondary city in the broad development scenario of Burkina Faso, it is essential to build on its existing private sector led economic dynamism and to transform itself into a socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable urban Centre that is well connected with its regional context and hinterland. The following ten guiding principles and practical steps are recommended:

1. A vision for the city
2. Establishing a national framework
3. Mobilizing and engaging central government stakeholders
4. Identifying mandates and support to local action
5. Strengthening local leadership
6. Institutional and organizational arrangements for resource mobilization
7. Establishing a local institutional architecture for project implementation
8. Setting up a project implementation unit (PIU)
9. Build capacities and mobilize technical assistance.

10. Undertaking practical steps

1. A vision for the city

The city report of Koudougou provides the basis for a **vision for the future of the city** which would need to be elaborated by the **city's** constituent groups³¹. It proposes a program that focuses on economic regeneration implemented through three pillars: **(1) fund-raising** through a revenue generation strategy, **(2) spatial development** through active land management and capacity building, and **(3) investment in infrastructure and economic services** through public-private partnerships (PPPs), with key capital investment projects identified. See Figure 4.

The goal is to turn the city of Koudougou a unique education hub that provides hospitality, cultural and trading services to the Central West Region, building on its assets and taking advantage of its strategic location and transport connectivity with the rest of the country, particularly the nearby Centre of consumption vested in the capital city, Ouagadougou, considered as a robust consumption market that can serve the economic development of Koudougou. Such a vision would build on the city's assets, that is to say, its relative regular urban fabric and optimal urban spatial structure, and the cohesive social structure which provides a breeding ground for private investment that generates jobs and revenues for its sustainable economic growth. Last but not least, it builds on its dominant education hub profile and related services.

2. Establishing a national framework for Koudougou's development

Key stakeholders must be identified and be considered for effective secondary city development policy implementation. The city report identified several of these stakeholders through a stakeholder's analysis. Given that the goal is to foster self-reliance in revenue generation and trigger economic development of Koudougou, key national institutions such as key line ministries, provincial level institutions and local government institutions must be engaged.

3. Mobilizing and Engaging Central Government Stakeholders

The City Report and the Final Synthesis Report highlight **the role of national government** in secondary cities development. There is legislation regulating and enforcing decentralization, central government budget transfers and spatial planning and national urban development policies which needs to be implemented. These are driving forces to trigger local actions in Koudougou and strengthen its role and function as secondary cities in the broad development scenario in Burkina Faso. The government has formulated a **National Urban Policy-NUP**³². This can be instrumental³³ for the implementation of a national spatial development framework in Burkina Faso where the role and function of secondary cities like Koudougou – an education hub – is outlined and reinforced by national government policy intervention and financial and legal support. The country has also adopted a National Economic and Social Development Plan³⁴ (PNDES in French) which indicate national aspirations in terms of poverty reduction and satisfaction of basic needs.

³¹ There are various ways to create a city vision, mobilizing key stakeholders of the city. Cities usually commission external technical assistance to guide consultative processes to bring about a vision and strategic plan to realize it in the future.

³² This is defined as coherent set of decisions through a deliberate government-led process of coordinating and rallying various actors towards a common vision and goal. The Urban Policy Platform, <https://urbanpolicyplatform.org/>

³³ UN-Habitat and OECD provide practical guidelines for the formulation of NUPs and National Spatial Development Framework.

³⁴ Burkina Faso National Economic and Social Development Plan. <https://effectivecooperation.org/content/burkina-faso-national-economic-and-social-development-plan>

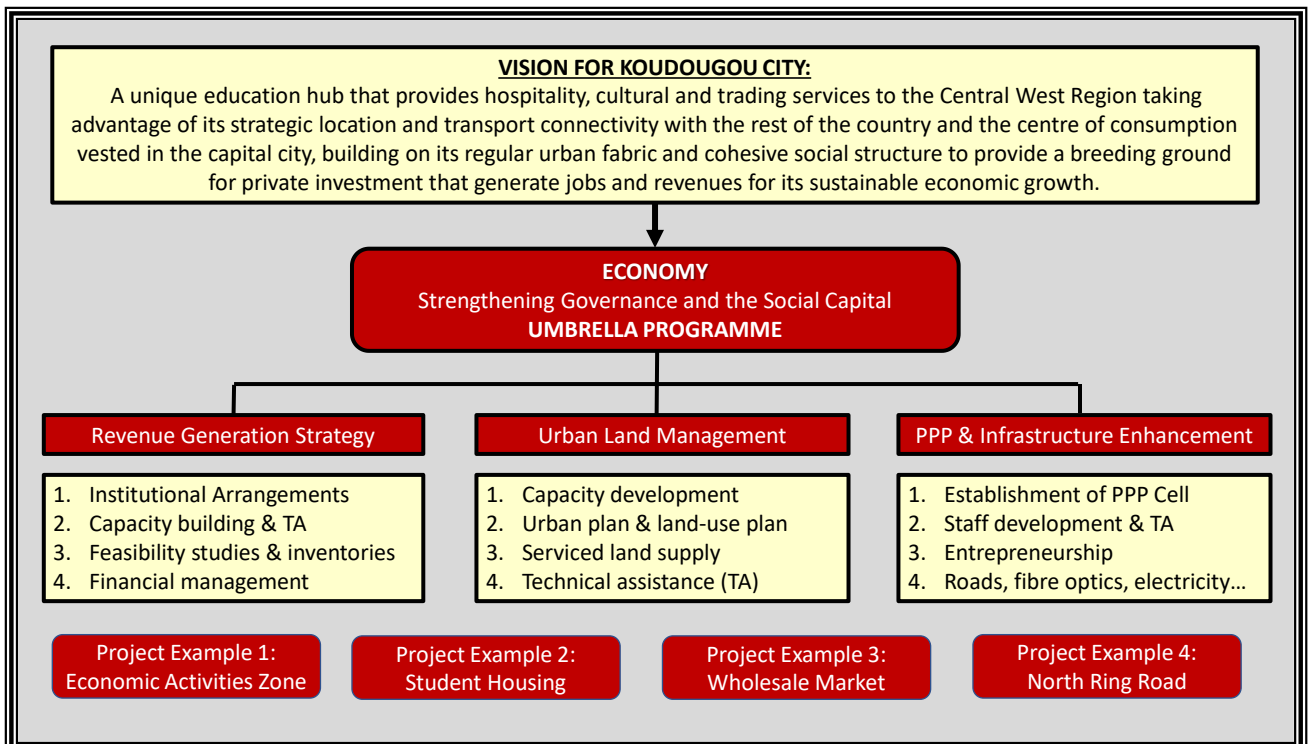


Figure 4: An Umbrella Programme for the Economic Revitalization of Koudougou City

4. Who has Mandate to Support the Development of Koudougou?

The **Ministry of Urbanism, Housing, and Real Estate Affairs** (Le Ministère de l'Urbanisme, de l'Habitat et des Affaires Foncières) has an important mandate and leadership that strongly connects three dimensions unveiled by the city reports, namely the (1) the spatial form and the built environment, (2) services and infrastructure, and (3) the economy. Physical planning lays the foundation for private investment and infrastructure development. The office of the **Secretary General** is an important focal point to launch the initiative and engage its counterparts in the ministries dealing with local administration and the economic and financial matters.

The Ministry of Territorial Administration, Decentralization, and Security (Le Ministère de l'Administration Territoriale, de la Décentralisation et de la Sécurité) is responsible for all local communes (municipalities) in the country and has a strong mandate on one of the dimensions highlighted in the City Report, namely **the governance** aspects that materializes national-local relations and determines the level of autonomy of local governments on different public policies. This will ensure government and institutional support for local actions.

The **Ministry of the Economy, Finance, and Prospectives** (Le Ministère de l'Economie des Finances et de la Prospective) has the mandate over a critical dimension of local development as revealed by the City Report e.g., **Economy**. This is the ministry in charge of economic and public budgeting matters, and also for questions of cooperation within the framework of public private partnerships (PPPs), in particular the **Directorate General for Cooperation** (Direction Générale de la Coopération, DGCOOP). The implementation and regulation of PPP initiatives fall under the mandate of this critical ministry. Not mentioning that budgeting and resource allocation to the local level also goes through critical decisions taken by this ministry.

5. Local Leadership Mobilization for Successful City Development Intervention

The success of a secondary city development program requires a champion at the local level specially in a context of evolving decentralization who can take the local development agenda

forward. The most important entry point to mobilize support and ensure engagement in implementation of the program **at the local level** in Koudougou is the **President of the Special Delegation of Koudougou** (Président de la Délégation Spéciale de Koudougou), which replaced the elected Municipal Council in 2021. This is a transitional situation given the political environment of the country, but it is the facto and de jure the local leader of the local government.

At the sub-national level one needs to consider the importance of two key stakeholders, namely (1) **the Governorate of the Centre-West Region** (le Gouvernorat de la Région du Centre-Ouest) and (2) **The Prefecture of Boulkiemde province** (La Préfecture du Boulkiemde). These are represented by the governor of the province appointed by the council of ministers, who is the administrator, the political leader at the subnational level. This is necessary to nurture political commitment and institutional engagement and support from the provincial level.

6. Developing Institutional and Organizational Arrangements for Resource Mobilization

The lack of funding calls for creative ways to mobilize resources. A specific task force should be created within the local government to audit the tax base of the municipality, the tax system, collection, levying and propose ways to improve the entire own sources of revenue administration.



Additionally, design a specific strategy for private sector participation that is encouraged by national policy and several legal provisions have been put in place to enable Public Private Partnership (PPP). There is an established PPP legislative, regulatory and institutional framework since the enactment of the law 020-2013, which governs PPP legal regime in Burkina Faso. Subsequent legislations regulate and has clarified modalities and norms governing PPPs, clarifying duties and responsibilities, and regulations for public procurement. These include but not limited to methodologies of project

preparation and definitions and conditions of PPP. This highlights the role of national government in creating an enabling regulatory and operational environment, particularly the **Directorate of PPP under General Directorate of Cooperation of the Ministry of Economy and Finance**.

7. Defining an Institutional Architecture at the Local Level

Secondary cities development requires a local government capacity for the planning, management and execution of programs and projects. At the level of the commune of Koudougou, one needs to consider the institutional architecture to host a secondary city development project. In this case, **the establishment of a PPP project at the local level** has been suggested by the City Report. It requires the establishment of a good horizontal coordination and vertical alignment of policies between different levels of government. The **focus on infrastructure development** calls for the participation of those departments in charge of economic planning, the physical planning, land use and land management and the provision of public utilities³⁵. It goes without saying that **technical assistance** to the development and implementation of the PPP projects is sine-qua-non for its effective and successful implementation. International development cooperation, for example from the European Commission, is critical for strengthening the ability of the local government of Koudougou to design and launch the PPP initiative. Capacity building and on-the-job training are part and parcel of this effort.

A PPP initiative requires an inward and outward stakeholders' analysis that looks at the implementation of urban infrastructure projects. An important entry point for getting the spatial planning and location of the public utility and basic infrastructure networks within the government to support this initiative is the provincial directorate for urbanism, the **Regional Directorate of Town Planning, Land Management and Housing of the Center-West Region** (La Direction Régionale de l'Urbanisme, des Affaires Foncières et de l'Habitat de la Région du Centre-Ouest).

The **Regional Directorate of Economy and Planning of the Centre-West and the Provincial Directorate of Economy and Planning of Boulkiemdé** (La Direction Régionale de l'Economie et de la Planification du Centre-Ouest and la Direction Provinciale de l'Economie et de la Planification du Boulkiemdé)³⁶ is another important stakeholder. Its mission is to formulate development policies and translate them into plans, programs and projects; coordinate and monitor development policies, and social development as well as the evaluation of development programs and projects.

Urban planning is closely connected to roads, accessibility and the lay down of infrastructure networks. The **Regional Directorate of Infrastructure of the Centre-West** (Direction Régionale des Infrastructures et du Désenclavement du Centre-Ouest) is a key stakeholder to consider on matters pertaining urban roads and access to urban areas. One must consider the engagement of the Regional Directorate in charge of the Environment, Water and Sanitation of the Centre-West and the **National Office for Water and Sanitation-ONEA** (La Direction Régionale en charge de l'Environnement de l'eau et de l'assainissement du Centre-Ouest & l'Office Nationale de l'Eau et de l'Assainissement-ONEA)³⁷ as far as basic urban infrastructure, water and sanitation are concerned. These institutions have key responsibilities for the provision of potable water in Burkina Faso. The ONEA is the leading agency of the National Drinking Water Supply Program (PN-AEP 2016-2030) which aims at increasing the access rate to water supply by 2030 from 65% in 2015 to 100% in 2030,

³⁵ The need for inter-departmental coordination within the local administration may call for the institutional and organizational solutions such Task Force, a Steering Group, the PIU-Project Implementation Unit to institutionalize and effectively implement the PPP related activities.

³⁶ <https://www.dgep.gov.bf/index.php/dgep1/notre-organisation>

³⁷ With support from the World Bank, ONEA transformed into one of Africa's best performing utilities. <https://www.southsouthfacility.org/results/congo-learns-about-public-private-partnership-ppp-service-contracts-water-and-sanitation>

expanding individual private connections to the networks. ONEA requires support for human resources development, financial management and procurement systems³⁸.

An outward look will lead to the mobilization and engagement of private sector companies and key business leaders in Koudougou. Burkina Faso has an active national **Chamber of Commerce**. The Chamber of Commerce of the region (La Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de la Région du Centre Ouest³⁹) gathers the private sector community in the city. Engaging them from scratch will ensure support and active participation in business development, fund-raising, capacity building and legislative development.

8. Project Implementation Unit and other possible stakeholders

The establishment of a Project Implementation Unit is usually the best way to ensure coordination and implementation capacity at the level of the Municipality of Koudougou. The main task of such a unit is to translate national secondary cities policies and strategies into concrete interventions on the territory. The role of such implementation unit is to undertake project preparation, project management, budgeting and establish an overall institutional coordination with other units and departments of the municipality. The PIU is instrumental in establishing synergies with ongoing projects in the city, for example:

The **Permanent Fund for the Development of Territorial Communities** (FPDCT-Le Fonds Permanent pour le Développement des Collectivités Territoriales) is a national financing fund whose main mission is to contribute to the financing of priority programs for the local development of communities and to contribute to the strengthening of their operational capacities. This could provide additional funding to support secondary cities projects in Koudougou.

The **Program for Economic Growth in the Agricultural Sector** (Le Programme de Croissance Economique dans le Secteur Agricole-PCESA), financed by DANIDA, is an important asset to consider in terms of rural-urban linkages and the development of the hinterland. The objective of the PCESA is to contribute to an increase in productivity, added value and agricultural income to participate in national economic growth and poverty reduction. This could help to strengthen economic relation between the city and its hinterland.

Swiss Cooperation's **Decentralization and Citizen Participation Support Program** (Programme d'Appui à la Décentralisation et à la Participation citoyenne - DEPAC). The DEPAC Program⁴⁰ aims at enabling municipalities and regions to provide better public services to their population. Equitable access to these services facilitates the development of social and economic activities for the benefit of women and men. It has a strong focus on governance and democracy. But it also includes drinking water, education, and rural roads in Koudougou.

The **Territorial Development Support Project 2021-2027** (Le Projet d'Appui au Développement Territorial-PADT), sponsored by the Association of Municipalities of Burkina Faso (Association des Municipalités du Burkina Faso-AMBF) and UCLG, further strengthens decentralization, the capacity for dialogue and coordination at the national level. There is a clear intention to localize public policies onto the territory. The EUD has commissioned a study in March 2022 which identified six projects in Koudougou according to a report dated from September 2022.

9. Build capacities and mobilize external technical assistance

³⁹ <https://www.cci.bf/?q=fr/nos-services>

³⁹ <https://www.cci.bf/?q=fr/nos-services>

⁴⁰ The DEPAC-2 program, which began in March 2018 and operates in 30 local authorities, i.e., 26 municipalities and four regions, required an investment of around 12 billion CFA francs. <https://lefaso.net/spip.php?article106278>

The Cities' Reports and the Final Synthesis Report have highlighted the need to strengthen local governments. Capacity development should be part and parcel of secondary cities development programming and go together with project developments and implementation⁴¹. The capacity of the proposed PIU and its partners is likely to need to be strengthened and receive on-the-job technical assistance.

10. Undertaking practical steps

There are a series of actions and activities to consider when preparing for a secondary cities' development project in the city. For example, the need to draft memorandum of understanding between the city government and national ministries and seal agreements to materialize and ratify local-national relation, define responsibilities, duties, etc. The ministry responsible for urban development (MUHAF) should be part of this. The task force mentioned above could become the focal point for creating this institutional and organizational foundation, reporting directly to the "champion" of the city (President of the Special Delegation of Koudougou). Seek dialogue with the EUD, development partners and agree on the scope of work and potential financial support to develop the secondary cities development program in the city. Prepare TORs-Terms of References for the different steps and products, outline roles of technical assistance and implement public procurement for this or mobilize it from the international development cooperation. Prepare project documents, identify, and contract and/or engage local partners, create office conditions and logistics and premises, etc.

6.2 Guiding Principles for the City Development Program in Nkayi

To launch a successful city development programme⁴² of Nkayi to transform the city into a vibrant regional economic development hub and a "pilot city" demonstrating the role and function of a secondary city in the broad development context of Congo, the following seven guiding principles are recommended:

1. **A shared vision for the integrated development of the city**, based on a deep analysis as provided by the city report and a series of stakeholder's consultations (to define a "shared" vision by listening national and local actors).
2. **An enabling governance system strengthening national-local relations through** existing strategies, policies and plans related to secondary cities.
3. **Stakeholders' engagement and "champions" at the national government level** who can provide political and technical support for the initiative.
4. **Committing key local actors and local "champions"** who can guarantee the implementation of the project and its durability at the city level.
5. **Partnerships with international, national, and local organizations** to create and co-finance the project and actively participate in its implementation, also **building synergies with ongoing projects and initiatives**.
6. **Setting up a solid multidimensional institutional and managerial architecture for the programme** to ensure strong project management at the various levels, effective communication, and continuous monitoring and evaluation activities.

⁴¹ There are many ways to address this. The starting point is the capacity gap analysis and training needs assessment. This can be instrumental to reveal competencies, skills, knowledge and organizational management capacity within the local administration..

⁴² In case the program is launched by the EU, it is also recommended the establishment of a focal group on urban development (with a focus on urban economy, governance, urban planning, and capacity building) within the EU delegation in Congo (based in Brazzaville), which can then coordinate and monitor the conduct of programme activities.

7. **Technical assistance for preliminary studies and build capacities** to develop local capabilities that can carry out the various activities of the programme and at the same time strengthen technical capacities at local government level for the management of future projects.

1. Defining a shared vision for the development of Nkayi

The development vision of the city of Nkayi emerged from the field study and local consultations. This needs to be ratified by the government. It is to become **an engine for local and regional economic development** that creates a conducive environment for business and people’s prosperity, fulfilling its potential in the Agri-industry sector. It takes advantage of the city’s strategic location and the significant footprint of the sugar industry to provide logistics and storage infrastructure and innovative jobs for its young labour force (see Figure. 5). Any city development agenda needs to be developed through a well-structured process of collective envisioning that uses many techniques and appropriate participatory approaches that legitimizes and ratifies the outcomes.

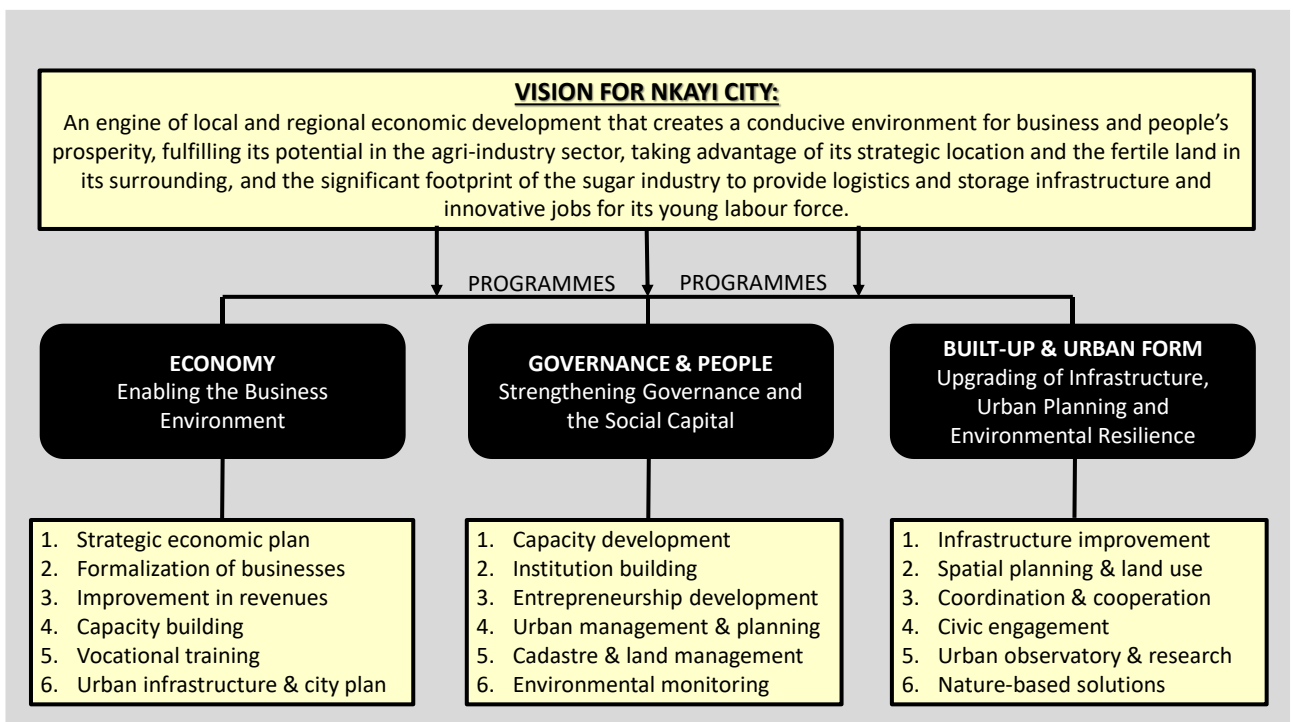


Figure 5: Integrated Development Approach to Revitalize Nkayi City

This vision for Nkayi was crafted through a multi-stakeholders’ consultative process⁴³ and builds on **the potential of the city to play a role and function as secondary city closely connected with its hinterland** and within the broad region where it is located. It is the result of the problem-solving analysis depicted in the City Report. This needs to be validated by the city and the government. The proposed strategy⁴⁴ focuses on the **integrated economic development of Nkayi**. It builds on cross-cutting actions to increase the financial capacity of the city and improved urban governance, strengthen the social capital, and improve infrastructure provision.

The programme is structured in three sub-programs corresponding to the three main areas of intervention: **(1) Economy**, to enable the business environment; **(2) Governance and people**, to

43 Vision defined through multi-stakeholder consultations in Brazzaville, Madingou and Nkayi, involving DUE, several ministerial representatives, Mayor of Nkayi, Prefect of Madingou, representatives of the civil society and of the private sector, June 2022.

44 See City report of Nkayi for more details.

strengthen governance and social capital; **(3) Built-up and urban form**, to upgrade infrastructure, urban planning, and environmental resilience. This should create the foundations for the city to thrive and play a role in regional development.

2. Understanding of the governance structure, the national-local relations and existing strategies, policies, and plans

Understanding the governance structure of Congo and the systems of relations between the various levels of authorities are crucial for the formulation of a secondary cities strategy that foresees the role of a secondary city like Nkayi. This helps to identify key actors of the programme and outline possible interactions and synergies. The secondary city development programme of Nkayi needs to be harmonized with the country's ongoing decentralization strategy to ensure that it has a real impact and to guarantee the replicability of the programme in other secondary cities.

The Republic of Congo is endowed with a detailed and **extensive normative framework on decentralization** since 2003⁴⁵. This is associated with the decisions to develop networks of stronger and more independent cities and intermediate hubs. Though there is a need to strengthen national-local relations and improve the level of autonomy of secondary cities, making use of existing legal decentralisation and devolution legislation. This will improve the cooperation between the national level, the departments, and the communes.

The City Report highlighted that the autonomy of Nkayi is still weak due to inadequate economic and human resources while national government institutions are still very dominant at the local level⁴⁶. It means that the **engagement of national government institutions** in secondary cities development programming must be factored since the very beginning and throughout the duration of the programme. This is likely to produce real impact both at the city level as well as at regional and national levels.

Local economic development interventions and the role and function of secondary cities must be embedded into national development strategies, policies, and plans. It is recommended that the proposed intervention in Nkayi to transform the city into a vibrant regional economic development hub be intrinsically embedded into the **policies promoting a national system of cities within a national spatial development framework**. In practice, the updating of the city's master plan and the adoption of planning tools to foster rural-urban linkages in Nkayi must be closely linked to the National Spatial Planning Scheme (*Schéma national d'aménagement du territoire*, 2005), the National Development Plan (*Plan National de Développement 2022-2026*) and the ongoing decentralisation and devolution policies.

3. Identification and commitment of key actors and “champions” at the national level

The City Report identified several ministries that play key roles in creating an enabling environment for secondary cities development in Congo. The proposed intervention in Nkayi recommended some of these “national champions” to play facilitating roles in administrative processes of approving policies, plans, procedures, and agreements and provide technical support. Innovations in procedures and tools (such as the creation of the strategic urban economic development plan) were also suggested. It was also recommended that the city establishes formal agreements (MoUs) with **line ministries** that have mandate over thematic areas covered by the programme, namely those in charge of economic development/ agriculture, governance/decentralisation, urban and infrastructure development.

⁴⁵ In Congo, the decentralisation process was initiated with the decentralization law of 2003 (n°3-2003 of 17 January 2003).

⁴⁶ Many projects in Nkayi are managed directly from Brazzaville.

Effective communication is key for a conducive national-local relation supporting secondary cities development strategy and to nurture stakeholders' engagement. It is recommended that a national forum is organized such as “**Congo Secondary Cities Development Forum**” to launch the Nkayi programme and initiate a national discussion about the role and function of secondary cities in the broad context of Congo. This will encourage active exchange between participating ministries, local governments, city representatives, private sector representatives, politicians and so on.

For the implementation of the Nkayi development programme, the following ministries were identified:

- **Ministry of Spatial Planning, Infrastructure and Maintenance** (*Ministère de l'Aménagement du territoire, des Infrastructures et de l'Entretien*). It is responsible for the implementation of all infrastructure projects of the National Development Plan. A potential 'champion' of the programme who can facilitate the realisation of all the infrastructural interventions foreseen by the programme (in particular rural tracks, logistical zones, etc.).
- **Ministry of Planning, Statistics and Regional Integration** (*Ministère du Plan, de la Statistique et de l'Intégration régionale*). It oversees the management of the National Development Plan. It can facilitate the integration and coherence of the secondary cities' development programme within the national development strategy and allocate financial resources for its implementation.
- **Ministry of the Interior and Decentralisation** (*Ministère de l'Intérieur et de la Décentralisation*). It supervises local authorities (as the Commune of Nkayi) and monitors their operation. This ministry has a strong mandate on the governance aspects. Thus, it can strengthen national-local relations, promote the autonomy of municipalities, and provide institutional support for local actions.
- **Ministry of Economy and Finance** (*Ministère de l'Économie et des Finances*). It is responsible for economic, financial, and monetary legislation, as well as economic and fiscal reforms; it develops programmes with bilateral and multilateral partners and undertakes economic forecast studies. The engagement of this ministry is critical given that economic development is one of the key pillars of the Nkayi programme.
- **Ministry of Construction, Urbanism and Housing** (*Ministère de la construction, de l'urbanisme et de l'habitat*). It is responsible for urban development policies, urban planning, and urbanism, including the urban and building codes, norms, and legislation. The role of this ministry is key in physical planning, compliance of planning tools, building norms, land-use legislation, and instruments to manage city building.
- **Ministry of Land Affairs and Public Domain** (*Ministère des affaires foncières et du domaine public*). It oversees land management, the cadastre and land administration, including the management of public land reserves and vacant lands. The development of the cadastre of Nkayi is key for the success of the proposed programme.
- **Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries** (*Ministère de l'agriculture, de l'élevage et de la pêche*). It is responsible for the development of agriculture and the rural economy. Thus, it plays a critical role in nurturing rural-urban linkages and the development of the agri-industry in Nkayi.

The Ministry of Spatial planning, Infrastructure and Maintenance, particularly the Director General of the Ministry of Construction, Urbanism and Housing⁴⁷ is the key **entry point** at national level for the Nkayi secondary city programme⁴⁸. In operational terms, the involvement of the different

47 Since the programme will have to base its foundations on an urban economic development plan that will have to combine the urban and spatial planning component with the economic planning component, a key, multidisciplinary mediating role can be played by the DG of the Ministry of Construction, as the ministry already has great experience in managing complex, multi-scalar planning programmes and can ensure consistency with the instruments and the urban planning law in force.

48 Projects above a certain threshold are managed by this ministry, formerly called “Ministry of major works” (Ministère

ministries calls for the identification and establishment of **focal points within each ministry**, who will form a Programme Management Unit in Brazzaville (see next paragraphs).

4. The commitment of key actors and “champions” at the local level

Key local stakeholders have been identified by the City Report who are expected to play a critical role in the implementation of the Nkayi Secondary Cities Programme. The **Nkayi Municipality (Mairie de Nkayi)** has a leading role in the implementation of the projects. However, there is a need to strengthen the capacity of the municipality to carry out the various tasks of planning, management, and execution of such a complex programme. This will complement the ongoing *Villes Resilientes* project⁴⁹. The Mayor of Nkayi is the key champion to drive this programme. A programme management unit is to be established also in Nkayi for the purpose of managing locally the programme and ensure institutional coordination (see next paragraphs).

At the sub-national level, the **Madingou Prefecture (Prefecture de Madingou)** will play an important coordination led by the Prefect as the focal point for operational and political decision making. At the local level, it will also be important to involve key actors from civil society and the private sector: these include the **youth and women's associations** already involved by the NGO GRET in the *Villes Resilientes* project, the SARIS foundation, and the **SARIS company**.

The key ministries mentioned above have **ministerial departments of the Bouenza region** with headquarters based in Nkayi, Madingou and Brazzaville. Their engagement can strengthen government commitment and show political will that is closer to the local level of programme implementation. This is a positive sign to encourage broad-based participation.

5. Partnerships for programme financing and implementation and building synergies with ongoing projects and initiatives

The City Report revealed that Nkayi does not have sufficient municipal budget to implement projects. It relies heavily on transfers from national government and state subsidies and identified **multi-level partners** – international, national, and local – **who can co-finance** and engage in programme development. Identifying and engaging these stakeholders is a critical step. **International institutions that are already involved in projects in Congo and Bouenza** Department⁵⁰ related to agricultural development, governance, capacity building and planning, such as **EU Delegation, World Bank, FAO, IFAD, WFP, AfDB** need to be brought under the umbrella of a type of donor coordination committee. This is to foster synergies and forms of collaboration and co-financing.

At the national level, it is worth noting that the Congo National Development Strategy (PND) 2022-2026 includes **major investments in the agricultural and industrial sectors**. This can benefit the economic development of Nkayi. The engagement of the **Ministry of Planning, Statistics and Regional Integration** and the **Ministry of Economy and Finance** will help to build synergies between Nkayi secondary city development and the investments of the current and/or future PND. The participation of other ministries, such as the **Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries and the Ministry of Cadastre** stimulates the implementation of studies related to innovation in the agri-industrial sector which is needed to strengthen the role of Nkayi as a regional economic hub.

The City Report recommended an economic feasibility study to be carried out as a priority action of the secondary city development programme of Nkayi⁵¹. This should identify ways to encourage the

des Grands Travaux).

⁴⁹ Reference is made to the ongoing technical assistance to the Mairie in Nkayi.

⁵⁰ See chapter 3, table 11 of the City Report.

⁵¹ See chapter 3, table 11 of the City report of Nkayi.

use of direct public procurement legislation to commission private provision of services and promote the development of **public-private partnership agreements**. National policies encourage private sector participation, but this needs to be sustained by legislation followed by piloting. The goal is to achieve private sector engagement in the implementation of baseline studies and investment in infrastructure⁵². The **SARIS-Congo company** is a private champion in Nkayi, responsible for the region's key economic activity that supplies sugar to the entire nation.

The **Institute of Agronomic Research (*Institut de Recherche Agronomique*)** is another local stakeholder that can actively engage in studies and research aiming at the diversification of agricultural production and stronger rural-urban economic links. Altogether, one needs to ensure the active involvement of all stakeholders in the various phases of the programme and the mobilisation of resources and public communication⁵³.

6. Setting up of a solid multidimensional institutional and managerial architecture for the programme

The development of Nkayi and its role in the broad regional context calls for a multi-sectorial and multi-scale approach that can be piloted and rolled out in other secondary cities of Congo. There is a need to strengthen interaction between the national and local levels (between Brazzaville and Nkayi), define roles and responsibilities and ensure transparency and efficiency in planning, management, execution, and follow-up. This calls for a **solid, agile, and effective institutional and managerial architecture** which includes central government, international organizations, private companies and local public and non-public institutions. Given the dominant role of central government in Congo it is recommended to have line ministries mentioned above playing a leading role in establishing this coordination and managerial mechanism under the leadership of the **Ministry of Spatial Planning, Infrastructure and Maintenance**.

This can take the form of a **Programme Management Unit (PMU)** based in Brazzaville (hosted by the Ministry of Spatial Planning, Infrastructure and Maintenance and coordinated by the DG of the Ministry of Construction, Urbanism and Housing). The PMU functions as coordination and monitoring of the programme at the national level. This will ensure that the national vision of spatial development is well embedded into the initiative. A city-based **Programme Implementation Unit (PIM)**, hosted by the Municipality of Nkayi, coordinated by the Mayor of Nkayi, should be established with the major function of coordinating the actions, activities and project planning and implementation of the local level.

The PMU can become the embryo of the national secondary cities development programme in charge of implementing the national spatial development and system of cities in Congo which will define the role and function of secondary cities in the territory of the Congo. It is expected to engage line ministries, local government, the business sector, social and financial institutions as well as development partners (financial institutions, multilateral, and bilateral development organizations such as FAO, IFAD, WFP, and WB) that are currently investing in the Bouenza region. **The PIM** is led by the Municipality of Nkayi and the Prefecture of Madingou and involves the participation of the departmental directors of the ministries involved in the programme, the agronomic research centre (IRA), local NGO's and associations⁵⁴ and the SARIS company. A work

⁵² The World Bank organized a knowledge exchange for Congolese water-sector practitioners to visit Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso and for ONEA experts to travel to Brazzaville in Congo. The exchange aimed to increase Congo's capacity to improve and expand urban water services through public-private partnerships (PPP) and support overall water sector reform. <https://www.southsouthfacility.org/results/congo-learns-about-public-private-partnership-ppp-service-contracts-water-and-sanitation>

⁵³ A communication plan is another key tool for the success of the Programme.

⁵⁴ The participatory framework ("cadre participatif") that is being built with the EU funded Villes Resilientes' project is an important starting point for the development of citizen participation.

plan, time planning and key guidance documents need to be produced to ensure timely and effective programme delivery.

7. Launch of a technical assistance for preliminary studies and capacity building

The scope and complexity of the programme and the required operationalization of national-local relations, the development of a strategic economic development plan, the undertaking of technical, financial, and economic feasibility studies demand technical assistance and concomitant strengthening of the technical and managerial capacities of the two units (PMU and PIU). This is top priority highlighted by the City Report.

6.3 Guiding Principles for the Secondary City Development Program in Arua

In order for the Arua City to effectively execute its mandate and fulfill its role and function as secondary city in the broad development context of Uganda and the West Nile Region, it is imperative to create enabling conditions for the city to thrive and transform itself into an economically vibrant, socially inclusive and environmentally resilient transnational border town that is well connected with its hinterlands within the West Nile Region and the neighboring countries of the Republic of South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The following guiding principles and priorities are therefore recommended:

1. An enabling environment to support governance and functioning of the secondary Cities.

The national government adopted a set of national policies that support secondary cities development. For example, the **Uganda Vision 2020 Spatial Framework**⁵⁵ that defines a vision for the future of Uganda, outlines infrastructure corridors and four regional cities to be strengthened, amongst them Arua⁵⁶. The **Uganda National Physical Development Plan 2019-2040**⁵⁷, the first of its kind, laid down the spatial dimension of sectoral policies through a territorially-based strategy and established a hierarchy of human settlements e.g. primate cities, secondary cities and towns and brought forward a national land-use strategy, as provided by the Physical Planning Act 2010. Aligned with the vision expressed by these documents, the government also issued **the National Urban Policy in 2017** in which it envisioned a transformative urbanization process promoting spatial integration and balanced regional development⁵⁸. Altogether, the government of Uganda established a policy and regulatory frameworks and a conducive policy environment for secondary cities development.

How to operationalize these policies and strengthen the role and function of Arua in the wider development context? There should be clarity on the financial capacity and resources of cities in the national budget with emphasis on their autonomy and capacity to effectively deliver public services locally in an equitable and efficient manner. National-local relations must be strengthened and bring clarity for city administrations in terms of access to funding and decisions to allocate on local priorities vis-à-vis central government stakeholders. A degree of local autonomy must be accomplished. Ongoing decentralization needs to be enhanced to achieve its objectives of bringing service delivery to the people with more accountability, transparency and efficiency as stated in government decisions⁵⁹. It is very positive to have this national frameworks for action at the local

⁵⁵ National Planning Authority: <http://www.npa.go.ug/planning-frameworks/spatial-framework/>

⁵⁶ Government of Uganda, Uganda Vision 2040. <http://www.npa.go.ug/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/VISION-2040.pdf>

⁵⁷ Ministry of Lands Housing and Urban Development (2019). National Physical Development Plan.

<https://mlhud.go.ug/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/FINAL-DRAFT-NATIONAL-PHYSICAL-DEVELOPMENT-PLAN.pdf>

⁵⁸ Ministry of Lands Housing and Urban Development (2017). National Urban Policy. <https://mlhud.go.ug/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/National-Urban-Policy-2017-printed-copy.pdf>

⁵⁹ Mushemeza, E., D., Decentralisation in Uganda: Trends, Achievements, Challenges and Proposals for Consolidation,

level but without implementation arrangements and resource allocation to realize their goals and targets at the city level, these documents land on the bookshelves of public officials and do not deliver their vision at the level of the territory. They remain as political intention and aspirations.

2. Enhancing institutional capacity.

Technical assistance is required to address the findings depicted in the city report. Transform the city and its urbanization pattern that also includes addressing the refugees' fate require financial resources and institutional capacity. To start with, in order to enhance the capacity of the city to act it is imperative to undertake a capacity needs assessment to determine **capacity gaps and develop a capacity building plan** to enhance the institutional capacity of the city of Arua. This is a situation auditing to kick-off organizational change and policy improvements. There is little doubt that technical assistance is needed to undertake a baseline diagnostic that will help to determine gaps in service delivery in the city. Altogether this should feed into the city development strategy that will guide the strengthening of the local government and support the long term development of Arua, which includes but not limited to private sector development and enhancement of the business environment in the city. Furthermore, it will be necessary to put in place the appropriate institutional and organizational arrangement for resource mobilization which can incrementally strengthen revenue generation and means of self-finance the implementation of the City Development Plan.

3. To establish a City Vision and identify focus areas of intervention.

This builds on the assets of the city and draws on the city report. The goal is to boost the existing multi-stakeholder City Development Forum to spearhead the process of reviewing and (re) formulating the City Vision. The existing vision 2016-2040 developed in 2016 was only applying to Arua Municipality before it was elevated to city status and expanded its area of jurisdiction from 10.5 Km² to 413.7Km² .

The analysis of the city carried out by the project team led to the formulation of the following vision for the future of Arua which needs to be ratified by the Multi-Stakeholder City Development Forum: ***A transnational border town, competitive and economically vibrant, building on its unique geographical position at the trade corridor between Uganda, DRC and South Sudan, that connects with and develops strong economic ties with the wider geo-economic region and the strong agricultural sector of its hinterland and the West Nile Region, capable of generating jobs and providing a viable market for tradeable and non-tradeable goods while providing a sense of place and civility and greater social engagement in the governance of the city.*** The vision for Arua identifies three pillars of interventions: **Governance:** Strengthening Governance and Citizenship Empowerment for Improved Service Delivery; **Economy:** Accelerating the Competitiveness of Arua City as a Vibrant Transnational Border Town; **and Environment:** Strengthening Nature Based Solutions (NbS) for increased Resilience. (see figure 6 below)

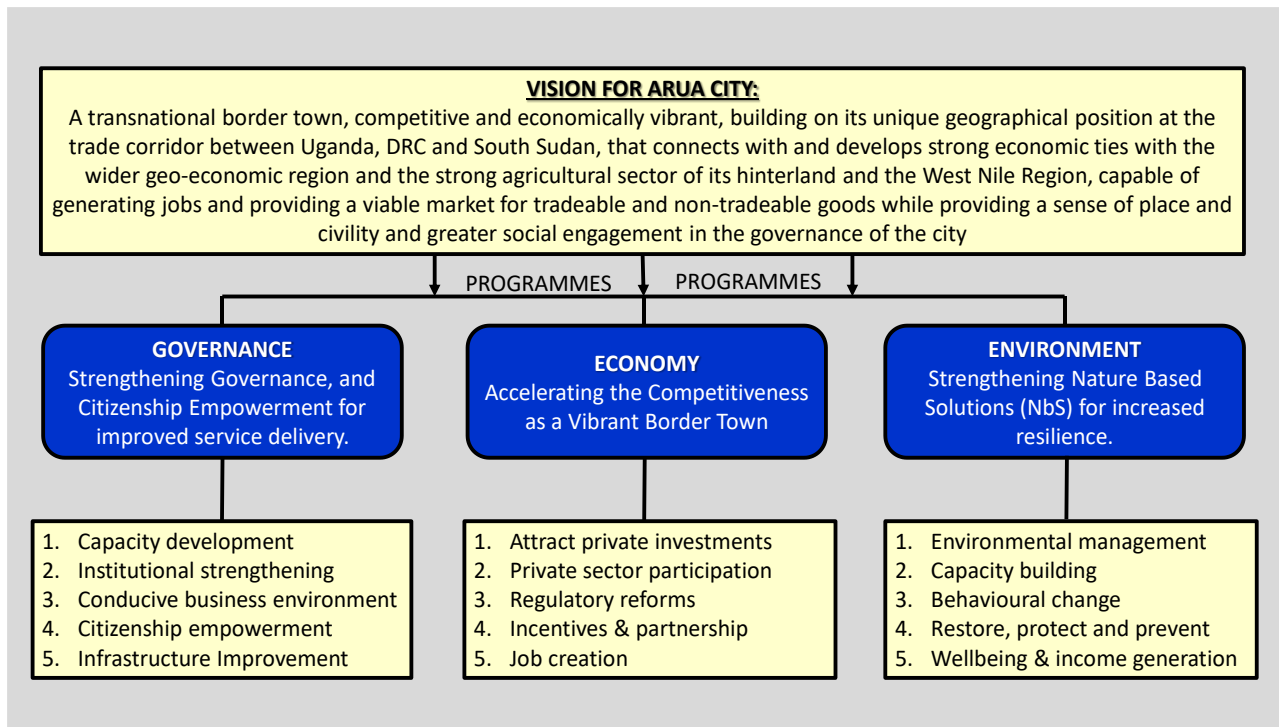


Figure 5: A Three-pronged Approach to Revitalize Arua City

4. Strengthening Governance and Citizenship Empowerment for improved Service Delivery.

One of the proposed pillars of intervention is to strengthen governance and citizenship adopting local empowerment strategies to improve service delivery, prioritizing key transformative and complementary activities within short-term period, as follows:

Institutional Capacity Development: as earlier suggested, an organization assessment is a key short-term action to get a grip on the functional and operational environment of the city. This should lead to an institutional capacity development plan (ICDP) that will guide organizational change and measures for improving service delivery, accountability, and so on. Part of this effort is to establish City to City Twinning arrangements to enhance peer-to-peer learning coupled with on-the-job practical training closely linked to hands-on technical assistance.

Citizenship Empowerment: Arua has a social and human capital on which interventions can be built. The suggestion is to enhance and empower the City & Division Development Forum and the different committees and establish a long-term process to institutionalize and strengthen the forum. It is suggested to convene annual multi-stakeholder engagement and participatory forums in planning and budgeting, taking into consideration the operationalization of the community development fund. This includes but not limited to bring down consultation and active participation to the neighborhood and settlement levels, launch public campaigns, and raise the urban development agenda to the political agenda of citizens and governments alike.

Strengthen E-Governance: Digital transformation and the implementation of e-governance measures will further enhance capacity and citizen participation. It is suggested to establish an E-Centre to serve as a one-window shop type of entry point where information and databases will be maintained on revenue, service provision, development monitoring, and so forth. This includes the consolidation of the ongoing creation of the city's Geographical Information System to capture all spatial and non-spatial data necessary for city planning and management.

5. Infrastructure Improvement for Economic Development and Job Creation.

Investments in infrastructure is considered key for the transformation of Arua. Improving the provision of basic infrastructure such as water, sanitation and drainage is likely to enhance local economic development and strengthen the market of tradeable and non-tradeable goods. This will generate positive impacts on jobs and the overall labor market. The infrastructure pillar of the programme considers the following:

Transport and Mobility: it links well with the suggestion of completing the physical plan of the city where growth and land use patterns are defined. There is a need to undertake an urban mobility and transport study to look at the options of integrated transport, modes and modalities and unveil the environmental and climate change impacts for further mitigation and adaptation to mobility-related sources of emission and environmental impacts. This should help to unveil investment needs, livelihood issues, operation, role of private sector, etc.

Review the Infrastructure Development Plans: existing Drainage Master Plan, Water and Sewerage Development Plan, Waste Management Strategy, Urban Spatial Plan and the existing Education and Health Sectors' plans must be subject to a rapid review and assessment in order to shed light on the needed measures to support the realization of the outlined vision for the city. This should lead to improvement plans, feasibility studies, proposals of bankable projects, public-private partnerships, waste recycling opportunities, and so on. Given the pressure exercised by the influx of refugees, there is a need to look at the infrastructure provision, this includes the capacity assessment of the **health and education sectors**. For example, look at the capacity of the Arua Regional Referral Hospital, Health Centre IV and III, and the existing education infrastructure which includes buildings, classrooms, laboratories, sanitation facilities but also teachers, and soft infrastructure. The **Physical Planning dimension of the city** must be addressed urgently in order to anticipate growth, facilitate orderly urban expansion and mitigate the growth of informal settlements. It also includes the Housing and Slum Upgrading Plan. Given the non-compliance to planning and building regulations, it is suggested to look at the serious problem of slum formation and informal urbanization, undertake slum settlement mapping and profiling that can lead to interventions in slums. At the settlement level, Arua can take advantage of ongoing work of the SDI-Shack Dwellers International in collaboration with the government in the promotion of community savings groups, livelihood enhancement and security of land tenure.

6. Strengthening the Economic Competitiveness of Arua.

There is a need to accelerate the competitiveness of Arua City and create the conditions for the city to play its role and function as a Vibrant Transnational Border Town. There is insufficient knowledge about the size and scope of the city's economy and its potential. This requires an in-depth analysis of its economy, the business environment, the existing legislation, bottlenecks, incentives and disincentives, the circulation and transit economy linked to its national and multi-national territory, and the needed infrastructure to boost public and private sector development and private investments. The economic linkages of the city with its hinterlands and the regions in DRC and South Sudan must be critically analyzed in order to unveil formal and informal value chains, the needs and demand of the existing agri-businesses sector and the potentials of revenue generation, warehousing and storage and flow of agricultural goods from and to the city, the labor market and employment generation, and the role of small and mid-sized enterprises and start-ups. A market assessment and technical and financial feasibility analysis needs to be conducted.

7. Improving Urban Resilience through Nature Based Solutions (NbS).

The city report depicted a series of practices that generate an adverse impact on the carbon footprint of the city related solid waste collection and treatment, mobility, cooking, flooding, etc. The proposed intervention suggests the formulation of a City Resilience Plan based on Nature Based Solutions (NbS). It recognizes the need of public campaigns to increase awareness and the level and

depth of the information available, and the preparation of a climate change adaptation and mitigation plan. This leads to assessment studies to uncover risk assessments; map, quality and quantify environmental impacts, set priorities and foment training and capacity building aiming at the design of plans and guidelines in nature-based solutions.

8. Fund Raising and Financing Arrangements.

The capacity to self-finance infrastructure development projects is low. The city depends on national government transfer. Thus, on the one hand there is a need to improve collection of revenues and on the other hand secure regular transfers and the incentives associated to the national development plans which assigns Arua the role of a regional center. The improvement of financial capacity of Arua demands a thorough analysis of its finance, budgeting, administration, management and transparency. This is the starting point.

The Integrated Revenue Administration System (IRAS) must be fully implemented and the land and property registry significantly improved and updated. In addition to that, the levying and collection of user's charges and fees related to municipal waste collection, public toilets, parks, property tax, etc. must be enhanced. The goal is to incrementally establish the foundation for mid-term and long-term self-sustaining financial capacity. The city report suggested the establishment of Municipal Corporations as special purpose vehicles to deliver public services. This can be considered as an avenue for fund raising and to attract private sector participation and public private partnerships. It is advisable to bring on board the Public Private Partnership Unit of the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MOFPED)⁶⁰. Uganda adopted a PPP Framework in 2010 and enacted legislation in 2015, the PPP Act, that provides the legal provisions for municipal governments to develop PPP projects.

The city needs to strengthen its capacity to raise capital and do fund-raising. PPP is one modality. It can also look for direct loans from financial institutions which is regulated by existing legal framework which allows cities to borrow up to 25% of their domestic revenue. Thus increasing the domestic revenue is a self-interest of Arua. It goes without saying that it will need project ideas, project documents and several preparatory documents in order to succeed. That includes financial and public management performance auditing as condition to get clearance for loans.

9. Stimulating National and Local Government Engagement in Prioritized Projects.

It is imperative to align and mainstream the above priority activities to the National Development Plan and the City Development Plan that have already been approved by the Central Government. This is closely associated with the proposals for a strong national-local relation and synergies between local and national policies, particularly related to resource allocation and technical and institutional support. This is key for actual implementation and delivery of actions on the ground. Cost-sharing and co-financing the activities outlined herein must be seriously considered. Furthermore, the technical assistance and institutional capacity development are sine-qua-non conditions for the implementation of diagnostic studies, project preparation, feasibility studies, policy and legal reforms, the setting up of e-centers, municipal corporations and other solutions.

10. Management and Implementation Arrangements.

The City Authority leads Programme implementation. In order to do so it needs to establish a project implementation support unit (PISU) and identify local institutions and stakeholders with whom it needs to build synergies, including international development cooperation. The PISU is hosted by the City Clerk's Office in order to ensure effective coordinated implementation. The PISU staff to be recruited on contract basis to enhance the capacity of the City. This will mitigate the understaffing situation, that includes a Programme Manager. A Programme Steering Committee (PSC) comprising

⁶⁰ Public Private Partnership Unit. <https://www.pppunit.go.ug/>

the Chief Executives of key stakeholders will help to institutionalize the project and establish policy guidance. A Programme Implementation Technical Committee (PITC) comprised of technical officers will provide technical guidance to review quarterly progress. At community levels, there will be Sub-Project Management Committees to monitor day to day implementation on the ground.

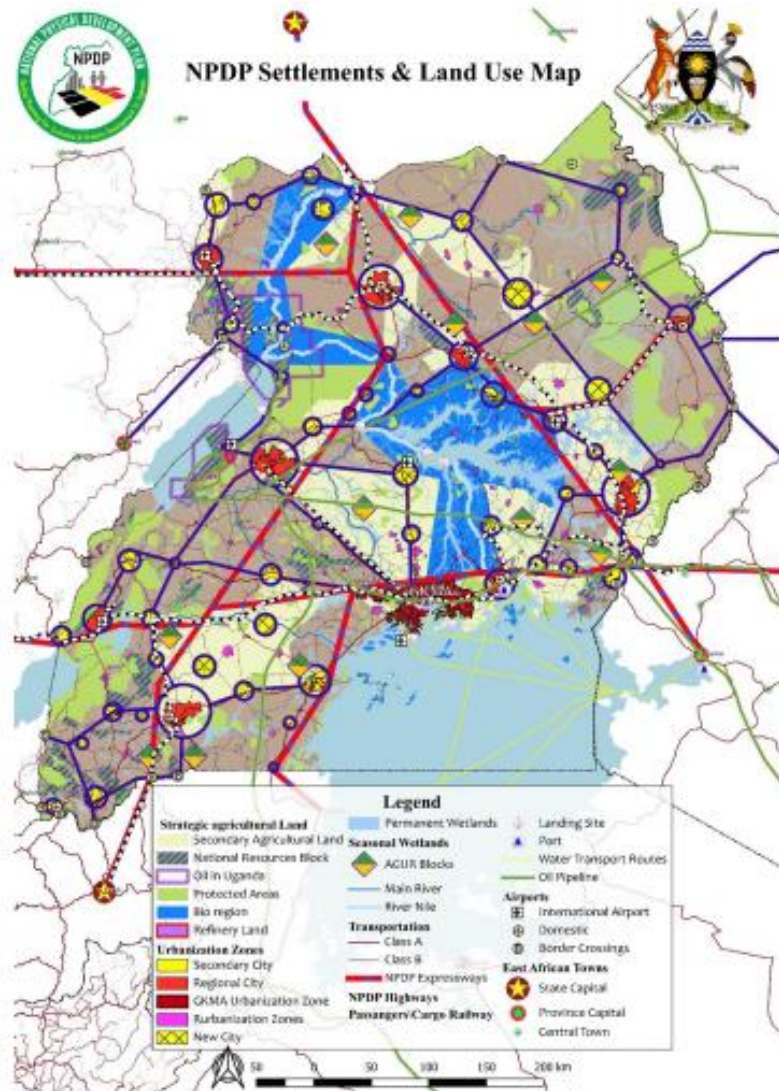


Figure 1: NPDP Map showing the principal elements of the Plan

Figure 6: Uganda's National Physical Development Plan 2019-2040

7. Benchmarking: Lessons Learned from Secondary Cities Programs

This section presents a brief reflection about experiences with secondary cities development strategies and programmes. It serves as benchmarking to reflect on how best to strengthen the role and function of secondary cities in the wider development context in Africa. The table below summarizes the cases reviewed for this report. A more extensive review is available in the Annex.

Secondary Cities Programmes	Summary
South Africa	<p>South African Cities Network (SACN) prepared 22 city profiles in the country to stimulate a national debate on the role and function of secondary cities, referred to as intermediate city municipalities (ICMs). Today there are 39 towns under this category.</p> <p>The focus is capacity building, improvement in fiscal system and promote spatial transformation. It highlights the need to acquire data, information and knowledge about local development. It is an initiative that highlights the role of a federation of municipalities or association of cities that promotes knowledge sharing and engages in promoting an integrated urban development framework to assist cities to become more competitive, working with hands-on initiatives. Cities located nearby metropolitan regions experienced growth in employment suggesting that location vis-à-vis the connection with consumers markets and economies of agglomeration is strategic for secondary cities. There is a deliberate spatial development policy towards the economic role of these cities and their relation with their hinterlands and the global and national economy.</p>
Rwanda	<p>Secondary cities' strategic locations and development corridors have been identified within a spatial development vision of the national territory of Rwanda. Central Government policies have been adopted to encourage deconcentrating population and economic activity from the capital Kigali. Urbanization is identified as catalytic force of economic transformation where secondary cities can play a role as specialized growth poles and hubs within a spatial development framework. National policy documents set government long term vision. The provision of housing, urban services and infrastructure seen as critical for the realization of these goals.</p> <p>This case highlights the role of national governments and the importance of a deliberate spatial development policy to define a system of cities and human settlements in the larger territory of a nation.</p>
Mauritania	<p>This case shows a donor-led programme to strengthen the role of secondary cities in national development. Projects focused on strengthening local capacity and empowering local city/governments coupled with improvement of infrastructure and</p>

	<p>services in support to economic development. There is a clear intention to increase the absorption capacity of local government to take up the tasks of project planning and implementation and strengthen the financial healthy of local governments. The goal of the programme responds to the problems that emerged from the three cities report on Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">USA</p>	<p>The research on 24 small cities development unveiled deep rooted problem of impoverishment, physical decay, pervasive unemployment, housing problems and lack of perspective for young adults that resembles the challenges faced by secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa. Cities that lost their industrial heyday contrast with rapidly growing cities without industrialization in Africa. Yet, for example, the young population in situation of distress and unemployment is common in both contexts. Successful revitalization show various strategies to build local capacity, encourage civil society participation, develop skills and talents, and improve the public space and built-up environment. Successful interventions show that improving synergies between state and local policies has positive impacts on local development. The approaches are suitable to secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa and address the challenges unveiled by the analysis of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi. For example, the expansion of job opportunities for low-income workers, the development of a shared vision for the city bringing various stakeholders from private, public and community sectors to engage in collaborative efforts; the setting up of institutional and organizational mechanisms to nurture participatory neighbourhood development planning, and the deliberate approach to build on state policies (local-state relations) find parallel in secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">China</p>	<p>This case highlights several aspects that are relevant for secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa. It shows the various roles of national government. It also unveils the importance of defining the scope, size and targets of what entails secondary cities in the broad development context which demonstrates a spatial development vision of the country. In China it shows a system of cities and tiers of government. The formulation of a national spatial development plan that identifies locations for investments and stimulus for population agglomeration is commendable. Altogether the analysis of China's policies towards secondary cities reveals the importance of national government policies to strengthen the role and function of these towns in national development, including the achievement of a more balanced distribution of population and urbanization. This is a relevant lesson for Sub Saharan Africa. It also highlights the establishment of national-local relations. The example of China shows that national-local relations is evolving</p>

through time as far as it concerns local autonomy to plan, take decisions and collect revenues for self-finance. At a certain point in time the localities enjoyed a relative delegated autonomy for decision making.

Land management and land-based finance tools were adopted to generate substantive amount of financial resources.

It is worth noting that the process encompasses a ‘try and errors’ approach in terms of policy outcomes striving for the realization of targets for secondary cities and other towns within a national spatial development framework.

7.1 Learning from South Africa

Intermediate City Municipalities (ICMs)⁶¹ play an important role in South Africa’s human settlement hierarchy and consolidates a more equally distributed population in the country, contributing to economic decentralization and employment. There is a deliberate spatial development policy to materialize this. These cities perform an essential regional service function providing their hinterlands with access to services and goods⁶². The discussion about the definition and criteria to identify secondary cities led to an increase of the number of towns classified as intermediate city municipalities, highlighting questions about the economic function of categorization of cities, size, function and location

The profile of the cities and their economic function highlighted levels of dependency and vulnerability to global and national markets of goods and manufacturing and services in cases where their economy depends on specific production of goods and services placed within their jurisdiction e.g. steel, clothing, coal, platinum, tourism, government administration. This brings to the forefront the discussion raised by our project on the role and function of secondary cities in the broad development context where they are located and the spatial development policies and approaches that strengthen their role in economic, territorial/spatial and social terms.

This case of South Africa highlights the need to develop accurate data and acquire knowledge through city profiles and continuing monitoring. This is commendable and highly needed in Sub Saharan African countries as underscored by the cases of Arua, Kougougou and Nkayi. It also emphasizes the potential role of associations of municipalities as an important stakeholder in the efforts to strengthen local governments, provide technical assistance offering a platform for city-to-city exchange, and promote the role of secondary cities in the spatial transformation of South Africa⁶³. There are also two elements underscored by this case which coincide with the studies carried out in Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi: the need to strengthen institutional and human resources capacity and the need to establish a fiscal policy which by default improves the power of decentralization and the ability of secondary cities to invest in municipal services provision, and by default play a strategic role in the relation with its hinterlands and the region where they are located.

7.2 Learning from Rwanda

The case of Rwanda reveals the need of an active and committed central government in envisioning the role of secondary cities in the broader development scenario of the country which is important

⁶¹ South African Cities Network – SCN (2021). Profiling Intermediate Cities in South Africa. <https://www.sacities.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/IMC-Report-2021.pdf>

⁶² IBID SCN, 2021.

⁶³ SCN (2017). Spatial Transformation: are intermediate cities different? <https://www.sacities.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/SACN-Secondary-Cities-2017.pdf>

for national policy making and the realization of a vision for the country, its territory and its people. Problems and challenges identified in the Rwandan secondary cities are comparable to the problems found in the three cities in Uganda, Burkina Faso and Congo such as inadequate capacities, governance pitfalls, disconnection between cities and its hinterland, inadequate infrastructure provision, just to mention a few.

The national government commitment to urbanization and to support the role of secondary cities in Rwanda, and by default to decentralisation, is laudable and demonstrates the important role to be played by the central government. The Rwanda example also shows the set of policy documents that brings together several development sectors that complement each other and creates a body of integrated urban development. It clearly expresses national government vision. It also shows the imperatives of economic development and strategic thinking about the role and function of cities in the broad region where they are located, taking advantage of different types of capital available e.g. institutional, physical, economic, etc. This is likely to make secondary cities a viable place to live and work.

7.3 Learning from Mauritania

Mauritania highlights the recurrent issue of urban primacy with the capital city responding to more than half of the urban population. The difference in size, population and economic density with the second largest city and six secondary cities is remarkable.

This case shows the importance of international development cooperation and access to funding and financial means to implement concrete actions in secondary cities and setup a programmatic response to the problems typically found in secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa. It also highlights some of the elements revealed in the analysis of the three cities e.g. Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi, that is to say, the need to improve local government capacity; the need to improve infrastructure and basic services provision in order to boost economic development, and achieve the essences of decentralisation.

The analysis of solid waste management in secondary cities in Mauritania reveals a recurrent problem of lack of financial resources and human capacity⁶⁴ which was also revealed in the three city reports.

7.4 Learning from the USA

The eight strategic pillars identified in the revitalization programmes of small legacy cities in the USA show that capacity in the public sector and civil society are key for the turnaround of decay and decline. This finds echo in the policy responses designed to address the challenges unfolded in Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi.

The need to adopt policies to attract and retain a young labour force finds its parallel with the secondary cities in Sub Saharan Africa where youth unemployment is a persistent problem. The need to boost public-private engagements and broaden opportunities for jobs and income generation possibilities also find analogy with what is needed in Africa's secondary cities. The cities depicted in this case also show that government policy is needed and with a multi-stakeholder participation and local leadership it is possible to turn secondary cities into a good and thriving place to live and work.

7.5 Learning from China

The urbanization of China shows the important role played by the central government. It also reveals the need of well-established institutional and political arrangements to foster national-local relations in the development and implementation of a national spatial development policies that strengthen the role of secondary cities. This is relevant for Sub-Saharan Africa and the case of Uganda and Rwanda reinforces this too.

⁶⁴ SWEEPNET and ANGED (2014). Report on the Solid Waste Management in Mauritania. GIZ-German Development Cooperation. https://www.retech-germany.net/fileadmin/retech/05_mediathek/laenderinformationen/Mauretaniien_RA_ANG_WEB_Laenderprofile_sweep_net.pdf

The adoption of national policies with direct bearing on the spatial configuration of the territory and the promotion of investments in infrastructure, industrialization and economic activities reveals the inherent dialectics of top-down central planning on the one hand, and the policies towards decentralisation and the empowerment of the local level on the other hand.

Surprisingly, one finds increasing local autonomy in local administrations of secondary cities in China regarding planning, land management, fund raising and allocation of resources. Decisions to invest on infrastructure, promote the rural-urban linkages and closer connection between secondary cities and their hinterland find similarities with what was found in the three countries under review e.g. Burkina Faso, Congo and Uganda.

In the case of China, there is an innovation worth to mention which is the creation of performance standards and incentives as well as the establishment of accountability measures for secondary city administrations in lieu of increased transfer of funding from central and/or provincial governments or increased own sources of revenue collection. In Uganda as well as Ethiopia, following the example of Kenya, this incentive and competitive approach is being promoted by the World Bank. Some of these dilemmas e.g. control of its own resources, national spatial development policies and the inclusion of its hinterland in secondary cities' development are similar to those dilemmas found in the three cities of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi.

8. An Agenda for Development of Secondary Cities in Sub Saharan Africa

This section outlines an agenda to strengthen the role and function of secondary cities in the broad development context. The section evolves from the analysis of the three cities, Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi, and draws on the lessons learned from the benchmarked cases of countries, previously presented, that have raised questions about the role of secondary cities in national development e.g. South Africa, Rwanda, Mauritania, USA and China. It also builds on the findings depicted by the Inception Report.

8.1. To develop a vision for urbanization: the role and function of secondary cities

Increasingly national governments in Africa are recognizing urbanization and embracing it as a transformative development force like Ethiopia, Rwanda, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Kenya despite of having significant part of their population still living in rural areas. In response to rapid urbanization and urban population growth, national governments are designing deliberate policies to intervene positively in this process in an attempt to guide urban growth. National development policy documents aligned with the Agenda 2030 and national urban policy documents depict these visions and outline targets and public investments.

There is clearly an effort to identify the strategic locations of economic activities, identify the vocation of cities and towns and their potential function in the national economy and seek a balanced distribution of population and economic activities that help to release the pressure on their prime/capital city. This highlights the potential role of secondary cities and towns. Some countries like Ethiopia, Rwanda and Mozambique organize regular sessions of national urban forum where sustainable urbanization is placed at the core of the discussions involving various public, private, community, political and academic stakeholders. The future of urbanization and the role of cities becomes a public discussion and that is a starting point to develop a vision where the role and function of secondary cities can be outlined and further worked out in policies and initiatives. The deliberations of these forums highlight the need of this common vision on urbanization and a national urban policy amongst other things. The implementation and outcomes of these visions and policies remain to be seen.

What needs to be highlighted is that such a vision for the future of a country that is rapidly urbanizing is expressed in national spatial development plans. Spatial planning should be encouraged. This calls for the utilization of regional, spatial and economic planning tools deployed by the leading national government entity, usually the one vested with the mandate over urban development. But it ought to involve several other sectoral ministries and specialized agencies and civil society stakeholders. It also calls for the adoption of methods to forecast and scenario building with a participatory and consultative process to produce a blueprint for future development. It goes without saying that it requires a sound baseline information and degree of knowledge of the territory, the economy, demography, etc. Evidence-based strategic decisions are taken on investments, land-use, incentives and disincentives, locational policies, infrastructure, structural projects, social development and so on.

To deliberate on the role and function of secondary cities in the national territory and economy of a country demands strategic spatial thinking backed by evidences given that decisions will be taken about the construct of a system of cities and a network of human settlements in support to national development goals. This shapes the territory and impacts the economy and people's life. Clusters of cities and urban agglomerations, development corridors, special economic zones, secondary city hubs associated to a particular industry are some of the outcomes of this process. Countries like Kenya, South Africa, Ethiopia, Saudi Arabia, Albania for example have adopted integrated spatial plans for

sustainable and balanced national development. Understanding and knowing the assets of cities, their weaknesses and strength is critical and help to make these plans more effective and implementable. The analysis of the three cities carried out for this project revealed that. For example, the city of Koudougou has a strong profile and vocation to become a higher education hub with hospitality and hotel services while the city of Arua, given its location, has the potential to become a strong transnational border town with an intense regional trade and services reaching two other countries besides Uganda. The city of Nkayi has a strong footprint on sugarcane and sugar vested in its jurisdiction and connected with its hinterland, forming a development corridor towards other towns in Congo. A national spatial plan can build on these profiles and look at the role of these cities in their broad city region and national development context.

8.2. To Develop a national urban policy and spatial development framework

The development of a vision goes hand-in-hand with the formulation of national urban policies-NUPs⁶⁵, which are defined as “coherent set of decisions through a deliberate government-led process of coordinating and rallying various actors towards a common vision and goal⁶⁶.

This step of developing a vision and producing a national urban policy document sets the foundation for the establishment of an enabling environment that fosters effective national-local relations under existing governance systems where the national institution bearing the mandate on urbanization and spatial planning⁶⁷ plays a fundamental role. This leads to an important step: the formulation of a national spatial development framework⁶⁸, a type of system of cities and network of human settlements where the role and function of secondary cities, small towns and major metropolitan areas are outlined⁶⁹. UN-Habitat and OECD provide practical guidelines for the formulation of NUPs and National Spatial Development Framework. Many countries are adopting these guidelines and recommendations. It guides policies, programs and investment decisions with deliberate concerns about the location of people, businesses, agglomerations and key economic activities in the territory. It helps to realize a balanced pattern of territorial development. Uganda⁷⁰ and Burkina Faso⁷¹, for example, have developed a national urban development strategy which provides a foundation for the formulation of a secondary cities strategy. Ethiopia has developed corridors and clusters strategy that materializes a spatial urban industrial development in the country⁷². It goes without saying that the strengthening of key ministry leading this process is part and parcel of successful implementation.

Under the present conditions, it is unlikely that governments can undertake these tasks without technical assistance. The formulation of a vision, a national urban development policy and the spatial development framework, and the harmonization between tiers of government to strengthen the role of secondary cities are complex and comprehensive endeavours that should be commissioned to a task force eventually facilitated and/or supported by an external partner and/or a specialized urban development consulting firm. This also highlights the role of international

⁶⁵ UN-Habitat (2015). National Urban Policy Framework for Rapid Diagnostic. <https://unhabitat.org/programme/national-urban-policy>

⁶⁶ The Urban Policy Platform, <https://urbanpolicyplatform.org/>

⁶⁷ Usually the Ministry of Spatial Planning, Urbanism and Housing

⁶⁸ World Bank (2020). A Guide* for Effective Development and Implementation of National Spatial Strategies. <https://olc.worldbank.org/system/files/UNHABITAT%20NSS.pdf>

⁶⁹ Republic of South Africa (undated). National Spatial Development Framework 2050. Summary. <https://sacplan.org.za/wp-content/uploads/Booklet-NSDF.pdf>

⁷⁰ Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (2017). The Uganda National Urban Policy. <https://mlhud.go.ug/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/National-Urban-Policy-2017-printed-copy.pdf>

⁷¹ Cities Alliance (undated). The Burkina Faso Country Program. https://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/default/files/Burkina%20Faso.English.web_.pdf

⁷² CDKN (2018). Promoting green urban industrialisation in Ethiopia. Policy Brief. https://cdkn.org/sites/default/files/files/Green_Industrialisation_Web-final.pdf

development cooperation where the EC can play a supportive and enabling role both in terms of finance and technical advice.

8.3. To promote urban-rural linkages: connecting secondary cities with their hinterlands

All cases reviewed in this report, including the 3 cities Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi, highlight the imperative linkage of secondary cities with their immediate city region and hinterlands, particularly those that have an agricultural industry and robust agricultural sector vested in its hinterlands. It is essential to understand and map the flow of people, products, services, food, businesses and agricultural supply chains as well as the labour market which are critical for secondary cities to achieve an economic density and market robustness that can be sustained and support its hinterlands and vice-versa. The symbiosis between rural transformation and urban transformation and the development of an economy of scale and agglomeration that benefits this flow needs to be equally understood together with the type and size of infrastructure needed, when designing a public policy response, for example warehouse storage, market places, rural roads, rural product transformation facilities, accessibility, etc. It calls for policies that strengthen these linkages⁷³, facilitate access to markets and public goods. Secondary cities become the gateway for the rural population to gain access to services, markets and infrastructure⁷⁴, employment and sources of income, but also to international markets as shown by secondary cities in South Africa e.g. clothing and mining towns. Research on the labour market and the rural-urban relation for job creation and income generation needs to be carried out in order to reveal levels of complementarity and dependency to feed policies on urban-rural linkages. The issue of proximity of cities to its hinterlands and to large metropolitan agglomerations is a critical spatial location issue to be analysed and well understood when designing policies to strengthen the role and function of secondary cities in the larger territory of countries. Addressing the rural-urban linkages will also help to address the carbon footprint and emissions related to mobility, land use occupation and density patterns which are important inputs to climate change mitigation and adaptation measures.

8.4. To strengthen revenue collection: advancing the self-financing agenda

A global survey covering 100 cities worldwide found that 55% of municipalities identified lack of public funding as a major barrier to sustainable urban growth, while 50% cited insufficient national support⁷⁵. The City Reports of Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi revealed the recurrent and structural problem of poor revenue collection faced by secondary cities in Africa by large. This hinders their ability to self-finance local investment programmes. The high dependency on national government transfers is a chronic pattern. Own sources of revenue – OSR typically includes revenues originated from (1) local taxes, including property taxes, land tax; (2) fees and charges from various service provision; (3) licences and permits; (4) levies; (5) commercial ventures. The organization, levying, collection and updating of the tax base are critical bottlenecks that need to be addressed. This should be done in an incremental but continuous way in order to reverse the pervasive lack of resources to fund local development. “Property tax revenue performance is near the lowest in the world in almost all African countries; tax administration is characterized by inadequate valuation practices, poor property coverage, and low rates of compliance; and property markets remain underdeveloped”⁷⁶. African local governments

⁷³ UN-Habitat (2019). Urban-Rural Linkages: guiding principles. <https://unhabitat.org/urban-rural-linkages-guiding-principles>

⁷⁴ OECD. New Evidences on Africa’s urban economy. <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/405bf911-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/405bf911-en>

⁷⁵ Floater, G., Dowling, D., Chan, D., Ulterino, M., Braunstein, J., McMinn, T., Ahmad, E., 2017. Global Review of Finance for Sustainable Urban Infrastructure. Coalition for Urban Transitions. London and Washington, DC. Available at: <http://newclimateconomy.net/content/cities-working-papers>.

⁷⁶ Riël Franzsen and William McCluskey (2017). Property Tax in Africa. Status, challenges, and prospects. Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, USA.

have low levels of revenue collection⁷⁷. The average share of GDP in Africa is 0.38 % versus 2.2% for industrial countries, with only 3 countries exceeding 1%⁷⁸. This problem cannot be addressed one-sidedly. It is closely connected to the process of decentralization and devolution that has been adopted and timidly implemented nevertheless highly necessary. It connects governance, relations between different tiers of government, implementation of legislation enforcing local autonomy and the implementation of national development policies at the local level. Property tax and land value capture instruments are most common ways that municipal governments can raise funding from within their tax base.

Programmes supported by the World Bank and UN-Habitat in Uganda and Kenya respectively show that technical assistance, capacity building and introduction of structural methods, administrative and planning procedures and organizational change have yielded positive results and increases in revenues. But one needs to be realist here. This is a long-term process thought it cannot wait any longer if one wishes to change the pattern of urbanization in the African continent where secondary cities have a vital role to play. Increasing the financing capacity of secondary towns will improve their ability to absorb demographic growth and the influx of migrants in a planned and sustainable form, thus relieving the pressure on larger metropolitan cities and potentially decreasing the pace of informal urbanization and slum formation. There is little doubt about the dire need to mobilize finance and development assistance in order to fast-track simultaneously the financial preparedness of secondary cities so that it can deal effectively with the speed and scope of the urban tsunami knocking at their door.

8.5. Territorial planning to anticipate migration and rapid urbanization

Urban planning is badly needed in secondary cities so that on the one hand they can anticipate future population growth and urban expansion, and on the other hand produce residential inclusion and provide adequate access to public goods. Urban planning coupled with active land management⁷⁹ is likely to generate better control of the territory and strengthen the role and function of secondary cities in the broad national development context. Securing land for urban development raises questions about a whole set of legal provisions regulating property rights and the registration and protection of land holdings which need to be factored in urban planning initiatives in secondary cities particularly in contexts where customary land ownership coexists with Roman law-based property right regimes. The retention of land for speculation purposes and the existence of large tracts of vacant land within the urban boundaries of cities call for the formulation of a set of land management instruments that will empower local governments in its dialogue with landowners and support land-use decisions. Providing planned land for human settlement guides urban expansion and helps to activate local economic and social development. It also creates a conducive physical territory for private investment and cost-effective implementation of basic infrastructure networks such as potable water, sanitation, electricity, drainage and access roads. The goal is to prevent largely informal peri-urban sprawling that produces risky, costly and environmentally unsustainable patterns of peripheral urban growth.

In his seminal work, Angel suggested an innovative approach to deal with urban expansion suitable to secondary cities in similar situations found in Sub Saharan Africa⁸⁰ which was later experimented in

⁷⁷ Fjeldstad, O.-H., Chambas, G. and Brun, J.-F. (2014) Local government taxation in Sub-Saharan Africa: A review and an agenda for research. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.

⁷⁸ IBID Riël Franzsen and William McCluskey, 2017.

⁷⁹ The Cities Alliance leveraged financing for an Ethiopia Country Programme that will support secondary cities in establishing an urban land management system and promote gender equity. Cities Alliance (2014). Ethiopia's Road to Middle-Income Status Runs Through Its Cities. <https://www.citiesalliance.org/newsroom/news/cities-alliance-news/ethiopia%E2%80%99s-road-middle-income-status-runs-through-its-cities>

⁸⁰ Angel, Shlomo with Jason Parent, Daniel L. Civco, and Alejandro M. Blei (2011). Making Room for a Planet of Cities. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Ethiopia and Uganda, led by the University of New York's Urban Expansion Initiative. It advocates for paradigm change, coined as a "making room approach", that is grounded on the conviction that we need "to prepare cities for sustainable growth and urban expansion rather than seek to constrict and contain them". In practical terms, it implies identifying where expansion is likely to occur and preemptively acquire control over land that can be used for public infrastructure and services later. In other words, to prepare for expansion "before development makes it physically impossible, prohibitively costly or ethically unjust"⁸¹. The idea is to generate a plan of arterial road grid that helps planned land occupation and guides new growth in a structured and rational manner, and by default, compelling local governments and land owners to negotiate and find a social pact for the benefit of the city. This also helps to create projections in terms of spatial/land needs, compels the city to update its mapping and cartography, defines the path for expand and lay down the infrastructure networks, seal a social pact between public and private, and it ultimately produces a baseline urban plan that creates conditions to guided future human settlement and economic development. Not mentioning that planning for urban expansion bring to the forefront sustainable urban density issues and urbanization patterns that are critical to address climate change mitigation and adaptation.

The urban expansion initiative in Ethiopia and Uganda produced encouraging results on the ground. For example, in Ethiopia⁸², urban expansion planning from 2013 to 2016 led to the construction of over 570 km of arterial roads, creating space for at least 140,000 new residents and 26,000 jobs. It also reportedly reduced informality and squatting. The initiative trained 18 cities in the urban expansion planning process. It delivered a strong return on a relatively small investment of \$700,000 in technical support and training. Participating cities invested approximately \$35 million in World Bank infrastructure funds to construct or secure arterial roads on land in their expansion areas. In Uganda it has been exploring urban expansion planning since 2020. The Ministry of Lands and the Ministry of Local Government assigned a dedicated joint team to study the urban expansion planning methodology. Four cities are currently working to implement urban expansion planning: Arua, Gulu, Jinja, and Mbale⁸³.

The World Bank and UN-Habitat have placed on the spotlight the need of urban planning to change the fate of African cities. The World Bank argues that as long as "African cities lack functioning land markets and regulations and early, coordinated infrastructure investments, they will remain local cities: closed to regional and global markets, trapped into producing only locally traded goods and services, and limited in their economic growth"⁸⁴.

8.6. Financing infrastructure improvement: fostering competitiveness of secondary cities

"It is estimated that, by 2025, 600 major urban centres, accommodating a fifth of the world's population, will generate 60% of the global GDP, while smaller cities, with 30% of the world's population will be responsible for just the 15% of the global GDP"⁸⁵. Yet, investments in infrastructure is by large concentrated in large and metropolitan cities. There is dire need to reverse this trend. But that is not so simple given that secondary cities are ill-prepared, financially poor, institutionally weak and facing circumscribed mandate over their own affairs. This has been confirmed by the City Reports

⁸¹ Solly Angel on How Cities Can Make Room Now for Growth Tomorrow.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XY88f7y8D1Y>

⁸² Angel, Solly (2022). Ethiopia Urban Expansion Initiative. <https://marroninstitute.nyu.edu/blog/ethiopia-urban-expansion-initiative-serves-as-blueprint-for-sub-saharan-africa-urban-expansion-plans>

⁸³ The Cities Alliance (2022). Managing Migration and Urban Expansion in Secondary Cities: planning for equity and growth in the future.

⁸⁴ World Bank (2017). Africa's Cities: Opening Doors to the World. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/africa-regional-studies/publication/african-cities-opening-doors-to-the-world>

⁸⁵ Ceppi, Pietro (2020). Secondary cities: How hard and soft infrastructure can improve collaboration and support competitiveness to achieve equitable growth <https://blogs.iadb.org/ciudades-sostenibles/en/secondary-cities-how-hard-and-soft-infrastructure-can-improve-collaboration-and-support-competitiveness-to-achieve-equitable-growth/>

on Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi. **The poor and overstretched infrastructure is a major impediment for secondary cities to play a role and function in national development in Sub Saharan Africa.** The Global Commission on the Economy and Climate estimates that around US\$90 trillion will need to be invested in infrastructure globally by 2030, of which around three-quarters of this will be related to urban areas⁸⁶. Recent estimates identified the financing needs of developing countries between US\$1.2 trillion and US\$2.3 trillion per year, an increase of around 3–5% of developing country GDP⁸⁷ in order to make change in infrastructure expansion to support growth acceleration and development.

To put it simple, it is about financing the expansion of infrastructure but also creating capacities for management and operation, tariff setting and collection of user's charges, all needed to maintain existing infrastructure assets that are in place. This brings public and private operators to the equation of infrastructure improvement. There is a need to undertake a sound situating auditing to reveal the state of infrastructure in secondary cities as part of the process of developing an infrastructure development plan and the urban territorial plan to guide its future urbanization and sustainable development.

In order to make secondary cities competitive governments ought to invest in infrastructure improvement. Investments in infrastructure underscore the issue of scale to support economic activities, the economic density of the locality, and the competitiveness of the city to attract and retain economic activity and produce outputs to consumers' markets. But it also highlights the financial aspects, the sources of finance which is critical to secondary cities. While promoting the 3C model of urbanization (Compact urban growth, Connected infrastructure, Coordinated governance), the Coalition of Urban Transitions advocate for the need of innovation in investment in infrastructure as well as infrastructure solutions. It identifies and suggests three areas of action⁸⁸ which are relevant to raise the ability of secondary cities to improve infrastructure within its jurisdiction, namely **(1) raising finance, (2) steering finance and (3) blending finance**. Various finance instruments and funding models as well as finance vehicles must be considered.

Raising finance at scale calls upon the role of national government, particularly ministries of finance and national treasury to enable fiscal transfers from national sources as well as the local power to acquire finance from financial institutions and to increase local revenue. This is closely associated with improvements in the management of own-sources of revenues that was mentioned above. Thus improving financial management at the secondary city level is a key condition for effective mobilization of resources to finance investments in infrastructure. Steering finance highlights the role of an enabling environment created by national governments that allow local governments to use, for example, zoning ordinance tools with incentives for private investment, enact legislation to steer partnerships with private sector (PPPs)⁸⁹ and incentives for the market. Blending finance suggests the role of national governments in facilitating credit guarantees, creating vehicles to mobilize private capital and loans from the capital market and legal provisions to enable the establishment of an eco-systems of funds to finance infrastructure development projects.

⁸⁶ Godfrey, N and Zhao, X, 2016. Financing the Urban Transition for Sustainable Development: Better Finance for Better Cities, Contributing paper for The Sustainable Infrastructure Imperative: Financing for Better Growth and Development. New Climate Economy, London and Washington, DC. Available at: <http://newclimateeconomy.report/misc/working-papers/>.

⁸⁷ Floater, G., Dowling, D., Chan, D., Ulterino, M., Braunstein, J., McMinn, T., 2017. Financing the Urban Transition: Policymakers' Summary. Coalition for Urban Transitions. London and Washington, DC. Available at: <http://newclimateeconomy.net/content/cities-working-papers>

⁸⁸ IBID Floater, G. et al, 2017

⁸⁹ Legislation regulating Public Private Partnership and direct public procurement needs to be in place to boost PPP in infrastructure development.

Secondary cities by large are still far from debt finance instruments, municipal bonds and tools for raising upfront capital. As a matter of fact, sub-national bond market in Sub-Saharan Africa is still in its infancy⁹⁰. South African cities like Cape Town, Johannesburg, Tshwane and Ekurhuleni, and Douala in Cameroon have issued bonds to raise capital. Dakar, for example, underwent a Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability review (PEFA) of its financial management system in order to be able to access external finance. It carried out reforms in public management, accountability and public auditing which helped the city to acquire a loan from the French Development Agency (Agence Française de Développement) in 2008 to pay for street lighting improvements⁹¹. Obviously that local capacity and expertise are two inherent ingredients to enable secondary cities to successfully mobilize finance for infrastructure investment and be able to thrive with a competitive economy in the broad development context. This is likely to have positive spin-off effects on employment and job opportunities for the largely young population.

8.7. Civil society engagement in local development planning

The three city reports on Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi highlighted the need to engage communities, social groups and local leadership in decision-making in planning and management of their cities, building on their human and social capital. This should yield empowered community leadership, strengthen citizen representation and give opportunities for individuals and social groups to voice their needs and demand. This ultimately generates a sense of ownership of public policies and their outcomes. Rather than co-opt civil society to support local officials' deliberations, the participatory approach for secondary cities development should focus on empowering and legitimizing local representation and nurture public-community dialogue and partnership. This generates a push for more transparency in public policy and local administration while stimulating local democracy. There are several entry points to promote citizen participation in local affairs: in urban planning and area-based interventions, in decisions on municipal budgeting, in solid waste management and public space management just to mention a few.

In a context earmarked by scarcity of finance and dependency from transfers and grants, one approach that may yield positive outcomes is the engagement of citizens in decisions about available financial resources. One consolidated method and approach to citizen participation in local development that may prove suitable for the conditions of secondary cities in Africa is participatory budgeting which has been practiced in several cities across Africa. Participatory budgeting has its birth place in the cities of Porto Alegre and Santo Santo Andre, Brazil in 1989, and found breeding grounds worldwide⁹². Today more than 1,000 cities practices participatory budgeting. There are different models but in summary, participatory budgeting is defined as a well-structured decision-making process involving local community representatives and local government representatives on the allocation of funds from the municipal budget based. Decisions are taken on priorities that are set by citizens through their collective community-based consultative process at their neighbourhood level. Priorities are commonly set at improvement of basic infrastructure, employment, health and education, urban planning and slum upgrading. In Africa, there were more than 200 cities practicing participatory budgeting in 2013 and the numbers are increasing⁹³. The experiences show that NGO's play an important role in supporting community organization and prioritization. The experience in cities in Senegal and in francophone Africa show the role played by ENDA Ecopop, a Dakar-based NGO⁹⁴. It is

⁹⁰ Africa Research Institute (2016). Dakar's Municipal Bond Issue: a tale of two cities.

<https://www.africaresearchinstitute.org/newsite/publications/briefing-notes/dakars-municipal-bond-issue-a-tale-of-two-cities/>

⁹¹ IBID Africa Research Institute, 2016.

⁹² Participatory Budgeting World Atlas: <https://www.pbatlas.net/africa.html>

⁹³ Dias, Nelson (2014). Hope for Democracy. 25 Years of Participatory Budgeting Worldwide.

<https://estudogeral.uc.pt/bitstream/10316/42326/1/PB%20and%20the%20budget%20process%20in%20the%20south%20Kivu%20Province.pdf>

⁹⁴ <https://endatiersmonde.org/video-category/enda-ecopop/>

worth noting that in 2017, the African Local Governments Academy (ALGA) of UCLG Africa signed a framework convention of cooperation with ENDA Ecopop, IOPD Africa and Assoal/School of Governance and the Inter-African Alliance of the participatory budgeting to set up the College of participatory budgeting⁹⁵.

The participatory budgeting process nurtures citizen-local government dialogue that generates within the citizenry more knowledge about the public administration, awareness of the limitations of budgets and scarcity of resources while providing local officials with the opportunity to better understand popular knowledge, local practices, needs, aspirations and the day-to-day struggle that citizens face to meet their needs in the city and cope with costs that affect their livelihoods and the wellbeing. It is also an education and learning process. Complex but full of innovation. It is also an exercise of local democracy that have positive impacts elsewhere in society. One of the value added for secondary cities relates to the fact that citizens become much more aware of the scarcity of resources at the local government budget and better understand the volatility of public revenues that depend on local taxes and government transfers. Indirectly it stimulates citizens to become watchdogs of tax evasion and promoters of responsible tax payers. The example of the participatory budgeting in Matam⁹⁶, Senegal, reveals several aspects such as the role of the NGO, the deficit of communication with the citizenship, capacity building, local participation, democratic innovation⁹⁷. The elected mayor realized that the available budget did not provide means to invest on the priorities set during campaign and decided to embrace the participatory budgeting to engage residents on the decisions to allocate the available scarce financial resources. This created a tacit relationship between the local government and the citizenry about the need to improve local revenue collection and be more effective with public investments⁹⁸.

There is experience, expertise and available knowledge in Africa that make it easy to roll out. The scale and size of secondary cities make participatory budgeting a potential instrument to bring the largely young adult population⁹⁹ closer to local government affairs and get them involved in prioritization and decisions on the issues that are important to them and get them to realize the size of operating costs in the municipal budget. It also helps to include women and gender related issues in the agenda of public discussion and budget decisions as well as climate change adaptation and mitigation¹⁰⁰. This process is likely to generate creative ways to address budget shortcomings and challenges of low revenues generation in addition to establish communication, visibility of pertinent development issues, knowledge and capacity building.

8.8. Data for better cities: generating reliable information for planning and decision-making

Rapid urban population growth puts an unprecedented demographic pressure and increasing demand for land, housing, urban services, infrastructure, jobs, etc. It is essential that secondary cities get a grip on the rapidly changing environment within their jurisdiction. Migration has been a driving force in the growth of urbanization. Municipalities and local governments are increasingly becoming recognized players¹⁰¹ in addressing migration, the influx of migrants and refugees, and to include

⁹⁵ <https://www.uclga.org/news/signing-of-agreement-between-uclg-afrique-enda-ecopop-iopd-africa-and-assoal-school-of-governance-and-the-inter-african-alliance-of-the-participatory-budgeting/>

⁹⁶ Matam is a small town in the north-east of Senegal with about 20,000 inhabitants.

⁹⁷ Participatory Budgeting in Matam, Senegal. <https://participedia.net/case/7393>

⁹⁸ Participatory Budgeting in Senegal: interview with Mamadou Bachir Kanaouté.

<https://www.africaresearchinstitute.org/newsite/blog/participatory-budgeting-senegal/>

⁹⁹ African Cities Lab (2022). African Cities: what role for the youth? Today, 60% of the African population is under the age of 24. <https://africancitieslab.org/en/african-cities-what-role-for-the-youth/>

¹⁰⁰ Cabannes, Yves (2021). **Contributions of participatory budgeting to climate change adaptation and mitigation: current local practices across the world and lessons from the field.** *Environment and Urbanization* Volume 33, Issue 2, October 2021, Pages 356-375

¹⁰¹ Migration Data Portal (2022). Urbanization and Migration. <https://www.migrationdataportal.org/themes/urbanization->

demographics and population modelling into their municipal planning, land-use and urban planning and into overall local government strategic decision making. But to effectively respond to these challenges local governments must have good data and reliable information. Municipal governments have a great interest and incentive to organize this since it also has direct implications on fiscal policies, national government transfers, allocation of grants and national and foreign aid, and in national and local elections. The size of population is part and parcel of the definition of political constituencies, voters registration and resource allocation.

Reliable data and up-to-date information is a serious constraints in secondary cities. This inhibits the development of urban policy and adversely affects the knowledge about the dynamics of secondary cities¹⁰² and by default undermines decision-making. It results into policies being formulated and implemented without the evidences and possibilities of prognosis and evidence-based decisions. There is a critical need to produce, retrieve, maintain, regularly update and use data and statistical analysis in policy making and implementation in secondary cities. Demographics is only one side of it. Data on the economy, poverty, employment, environment, land, housing, infrastructure is needed do develop a minimum baseline information for better planning and decision making. This will have positive implications in the performance of local governments and will stimulate the market of tradeable and non-tradeable goods and the formulation of evidence-based policies. Who would benefit from this? The public sector, the private business sector, broad civil society, universities. Basically everyone will benefit from good data and information.

National-local relation comes into force since population data and census information are centralized at the National Statistics Departments and/or state institutions. The government should consider adopting mechanisms to decentralize these activities, encourage universities, local institutions, research centres and private sector organizations to jointly fund raise for setting up a regular sample-based surveys in secondary cities. This will generate first-hand information on urbanization, local economy, poverty, inequality and unemployment but also on land and urban property registration just to mention a few critical information, all aligned with the national censuses' methodologies and instruments. The establishment of an urban lab with the goal of developing systems of data collection, methodologies for field research and reporting and monitoring could be an avenue to bring data collection, retrieval and analysis closer to municipal planning. It could be also associated with education and post-graduation training.

This could lead to the establishment of a local urban think thank for secondary cities that will support national secondary cities programming and the formulation of strategic policies to enhance the role and function of secondary cities in the broad development context. Mobilizing young adults, recently university graduates, social scientists and statisticians have the potentials to start-up such an organization. National association of municipalities could be mobilized. Also the international development cooperation could be mobilized as well. Piloting this initiative could yield good results and bring secondary cities to the forefront of public debates on urbanization and the future of cities.

There is also a need to produce maps and reliable cartographic data to support urban planning and urban management. Good, reliable and up-to-date mapping, cartography and information about the physical features and boundaries of properties and land parcels in secondary cities is another fundamental constraint that adversely affects the ability of secondary cities to plan, design, manage and implement effective urban management and planning and establish a relative control of its territory and assets. It also affects revenues and property tax collection. By default, the scarcity of

[and-migration](#)

¹⁰² African Development Bank (2022). The dynamics of systems of secondary cities in Africa: urbanisation, migration, and development: urbanization, migration, and development. <https://www.afdb.org/en/documents/dynamics-systems-secondary-cities-africa-urbanisation-migration-and-development>

maps and cadastral registries hinder the establishment of a sound fiscal cadastre with a good territorial coverage which would provide the steppingstone for developing, establishing, maintaining and updating a multi-faceted cadastre database and local property registry. Who would benefit from this? The city and its revenues, the market and the business sector. It would certainly improve tenure security to boost private investment. The advances in ICT¹⁰³ has decreased the costs of such endeavours. With good training, technical assistance, technical cooperation and modest funding should help overcome this fundamental in secondary cities.

8.9. Making secondary cities work: capacity building

There is a need to undertake a situation auditing in local government to unveil the state of public administration, the local capacity of civil servant, the level of skills, competencies of the personnel and the organizational and institutional capacity as well as performance requirements and salary scales. This would unveil the structure, the functions, the responsibilities and mandates, relations and chain of command and decisions, incentives and disincentives, and so on. But also the career path and competences required for the different functions in the local government bureaucracy.

The future of secondary cities lies on the capacity of the local government. The ability of its technical and administrative personnel to plan, organize, monitor, control, deliver municipal services and oversees developments on the territory under its jurisdiction. There are two relevant factors to consider. The attractiveness of a job in the public sector and the skills and competences of people who are already employed and those who seek to work in local governments. This is the stepping stone for setting salary scale and remuneration and starting with creating a competitive organization. This should be an incremental but continuous process and resources must be acquired from various sources e.g. central government, municipal budget, municipal development funds, development cooperation.

At the same time, next to the situation auditing, an institutional gap analysis and training needs assessment-TNA should be undertaken. This will unveil the type of skills, knowledge and information is needed to fill the capacity gap disclosed by the TNA. Technical assistance is needed for this endeavour to be adequately implemented and with the desirable outcomes. A south-south and/or north-south cooperation could be an instrument to bring competent educational/training institutes to undertake this first step but also to deliver on-the-job training that is likely to improve professional self-esteem and delivery capacity. Who will benefit from that? The public in general since the municipality would improve the technical and managerial skills of the public servant cadre. The individuals and young professionals who would upgrade their skills and knowledge could benefit from this.

8.10. Conclusions

What should governments first do in order to address the challenges of secondary cities and strengthen their role in the wider national development contexts?

At the macro policy level, this report suggests a fundamental and necessary step to undertake an in-depth spatial analysis at the national scale to better understand the locational attributes and the specific economic activities that are associated with the secondary city's location and its intrinsic social and economic profile and how it connects with other agglomerations and the broad city region where it is located. This analysis is data-driven. It will help to sketch **the profile of regions and the function and/or potential function of secondary cities**. This supports the decision about incentives and

¹⁰³ Information and communication technology coupled with increasing availability of digital mapping and computer software is likely to decrease the costs of establishing a cadastre in secondary cities.

policies that can strengthen their role and function in relation to its hinterlands and the wider development scenario. Spatial analysis will lead to the formulation of broad spatial development plans, national urban policies and local development plans.

The '**secondary city development agenda**' is a construct that includes but not limited to (a) the formulation of a **national spatial development plan**, (b) the establishment of a regular **national urban forum** to gather multiple stakeholders to deliberate on urbanization and lift to the top of the political agenda the role of secondary cities and **national urban policies**, (c) the establishment of an **urban think tank to produce data**, information, policy briefs about secondary cities. It is self-evident that national plans e.g., vision for the future, decentralization strategies, national spatial plan, national development plan and national urban policy only make sense for secondary cities if accompanied by implementation arrangements, funding mechanisms and accountability.

At the micro city level, it is suggested that there is a dire need to produce **good data and reliable information for better cities** so that evidence-based policies and well-informed decision making and proper urban planning can be established at the local government level. Not only data on demographics and migration but also on the economy of the city, the urban land stock, the environment, mapping and cartographic data, just to list a few. This will help to anticipate and plan for development with a capacity to steer the physical expansion through physical planning, economic and social development policies and design of climate change mitigation and adaptation measures. It is suggested four major areas of intervention namely a vigorous strategy to improve (a) **local revenue generation** and the capacity to self finance closely linked to (b) **improving infrastructure** to increase the competitiveness of secondary cities which is deeply associated with anticipative (c) **urban territorial planning** and a conscious **citizen participation** strategy to engage the various social groups in local development matters with an accent on the making of municipal budgets. Civic engagement in budgeting is suggested based on successful participatory budgeting experiences that helps to create levels of social control of local governance and strengthen local democracy. It goes without saying that the **developing capacity** to implement these interventions is critical and one should not dismiss. The macro and micro interventions are part and parcel of a transformative secondary cities development agenda.

Where do we start and how? Should we focus on the macro level or the micro city level? There are many variables to consider when deciding on financial and technical support to secondary cities. Therefore, and considering the limitations of financial resources, **it makes sense to define a selection criteria to decide on which city to focus**. For example, **(1) the existing capacity** in the city administration to absorb technical cooperation and external finance, this means a minimum ability to implement, report, monitor and carry on agreed programmes which can be strengthened; **(2) the level of demonstrated political commitment** by the executive and political arms of the local government which translates into the city having a 'champion', a leader who is capable to lead the programme and go the extra mile to implement agreed programmes; **(3) the existence of ongoing programmes and policies** with their respective management and implementation frameworks which reveals in-house experience with project management and implementation, making it easier to tap in the secondary cities development programme; **(4) the existence of a set of assets in the city** based on which programmes can be built with greater chances to multiply and produce positive impacts; **(5) the existence of an economic density and dynamism in the city**, an economy of scale and agglomeration, that is likely to propel additional resources and create genuine transformative economic outcomes.

At the macro-level, the development of the national policy framework to strengthen the role and function of secondary cities offers a wide range of opportunities for international development assistance that can help national governments to produce the fundamental policy documents that give **strategic directions to secondary city interventions**. It identifies their role and function as development hubs, infrastructure corridors and their connectivity within a system of human

settlements that sustains planned and sustainable urbanization. **Technical cooperation and international development cooperation can make a difference here.** At the micro-level, the engagement with the local government will necessarily include capacity development next to improvement in local governance, the fiscal health of municipalities, infrastructure development, territorial planning and civic engagement. The entry points will vary. The proposed agenda for secondary cities development ought to deliver a stronger local government that is capable to lead and take greater control of its development and urban expansion.

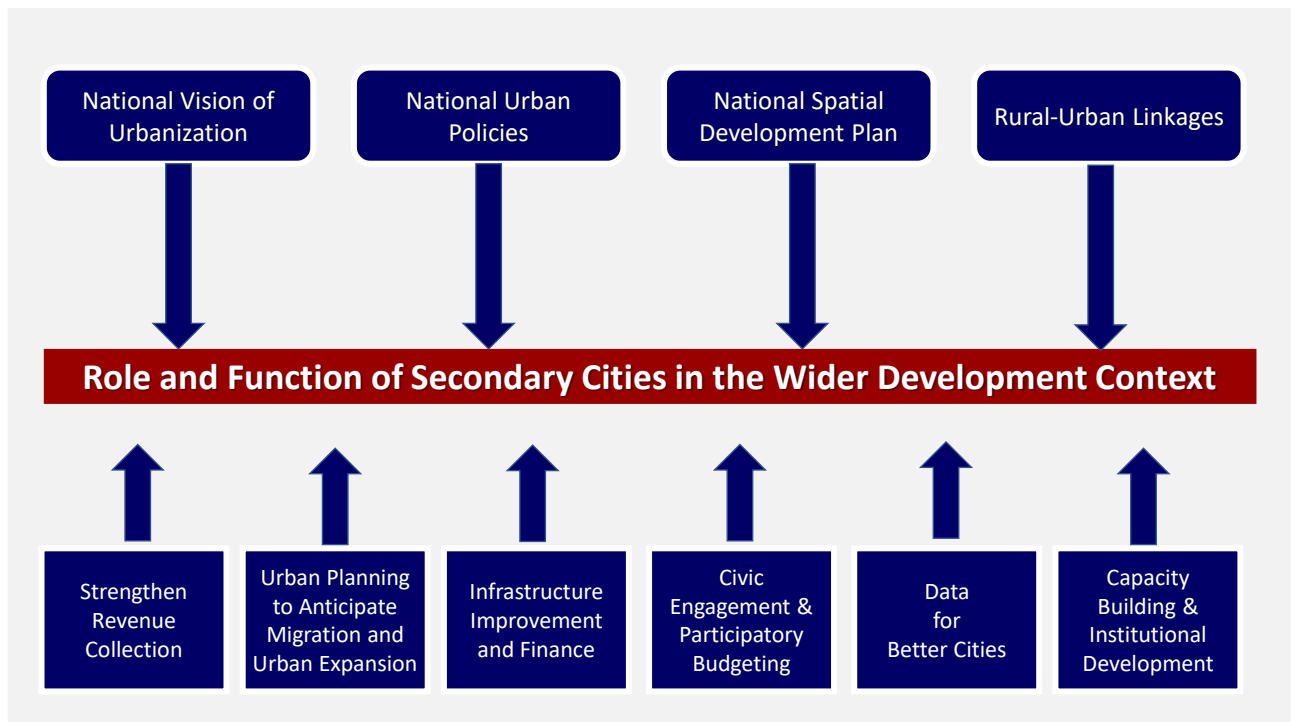


Figure 7: Agenda for Development of Secondary Cities in Sub Saharan Africa

9. Annex

9.1 Secondary Cities Programme in South Africa

A country like South Africa, for example, does have a decentralized system of government whereby financial resources and transfers are allocated accordingly to different tiers of government. Despite that, resources are scarce at the local level and there are major constraints for investment and self-financing. The National Treasury of South Africa chose 22 intermediary cities for its Cities Support Programme (SCP)¹⁰⁴ in 2011. The selection of the cities was based on the cities' municipal budget, population size and economic activities. The South African Cities Network (SACN) also reviewed the 22 intermediary cities¹⁰⁵ and prepared a brief profile of each city and brought to the forefront an important national conversation about the role and function of secondary cities¹⁰⁶. The 2021 SACN report identified 39 intermediate city municipalities¹⁰⁷. SACN is one of the few research contributors on these types of agglomerations. The overall goal of the Cities Support Programme¹⁰⁸ is "to improve the capacity of cities and create an enabling intergovernmental fiscal system and policy environment to support city-led transformation". Furthermore, the objective of the CSP is "to support the spatial transformation of South African cities to create more inclusive, productive and sustainable urban built environments" (National Treasury 2012c)¹⁰⁹.

A mid-term review¹¹⁰ of the Cities Support Programme-SCP revealed that it was highly "relevant in meeting the needs of cities by building institutional capacity, creating an enabling fiscal framework and strengthening sectoral and government policy that drives the urban reform agenda. In the face of a worsening economic climate, high levels of unemployment, and continued political and, by extension, administrative instability in metropolitan municipalities, the CSP II continues to be relevant (if not more so) in driving the urban reform agenda..."¹¹¹

Data suggests that intermediary cities had various growth rates with some having negative growth during the first decade of this century. It is interesting to see that intermediary cities located nearby large cities experienced growth in employment. In relation to projects, the first phase of the CDP revealed that informal settlement upgrading, township economic development, municipal energy and long-term financial strategy resulted into some degree of effectiveness.¹¹²

Secondary towns in South Africa is home of one quarter (24%) of the employed people in the country and play an important economic role, contributing about 28% of South Africa's Growth Value Add. During the last decades decentralization has strengthened the role and local economy of secondary towns, some becoming seat of government/provincial capitals, while others concentrating manufacturing mining. These cities are more dependent on intergovernmental grants/transfers than metropolitan municipalities, receive less funding per capita and have lower revenue do to its lower

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.africancentreforcities.net/programme/cities-support-programme/>

¹⁰⁵ South African Cities Network – SCN (2012). Secondary Cities in South Africa: the start of a conversation. https://www.sacities.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/secondary_cities_in_south_africa.2012-2.pdf

¹⁰⁶ The term 'intermediate city municipalities (ICMs)' is adopted by the SCN reports.

¹⁰⁷ SCN (2021). Profiling Intermediate Cities in South Africa. <https://www.sacities.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/IMC-Report-2021.pdf>

¹⁰⁸ National Treasury: about the Cities Support Programme. <https://csp.treasury.gov.za/csp/home>

¹⁰⁹ Planning, Monitoring & Evaluation. Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (2020). Policy Brief. Implementation Evaluation of the Cities Support Programme.

[https://www.dpme.gov.za/publications/Policy%20Framework/City%20Support%20Programme%20\(2020\).pdf](https://www.dpme.gov.za/publications/Policy%20Framework/City%20Support%20Programme%20(2020).pdf)

¹¹⁰ <https://csp.treasury.gov.za/csp/DocumentsEvents/CSP%20MTR%20Feb%202022%20Executive%20Summary.pdf>

¹¹¹ Mid-Term Review of Phase II of the Cities Support Programme (CSP): Summary Report 28 Feb 2022.

<https://csp.treasury.gov.za/csp/pages/newsitem.aspx?itemID=45>

¹¹² World Bank and Cities Support Programme (2017). Housing input paper to Urbanization Review (David Gardner).

<https://housingfinanceafrica.org/app/uploads/2021/10/Paper-6-WB-CSP-UR-Housing-Input-Draft-David-Gardner-1.pdf>

economic densities and activities and collect three times less property tax than metropolitan areas. These metros collect twice as much for electricity and water charges¹¹³.

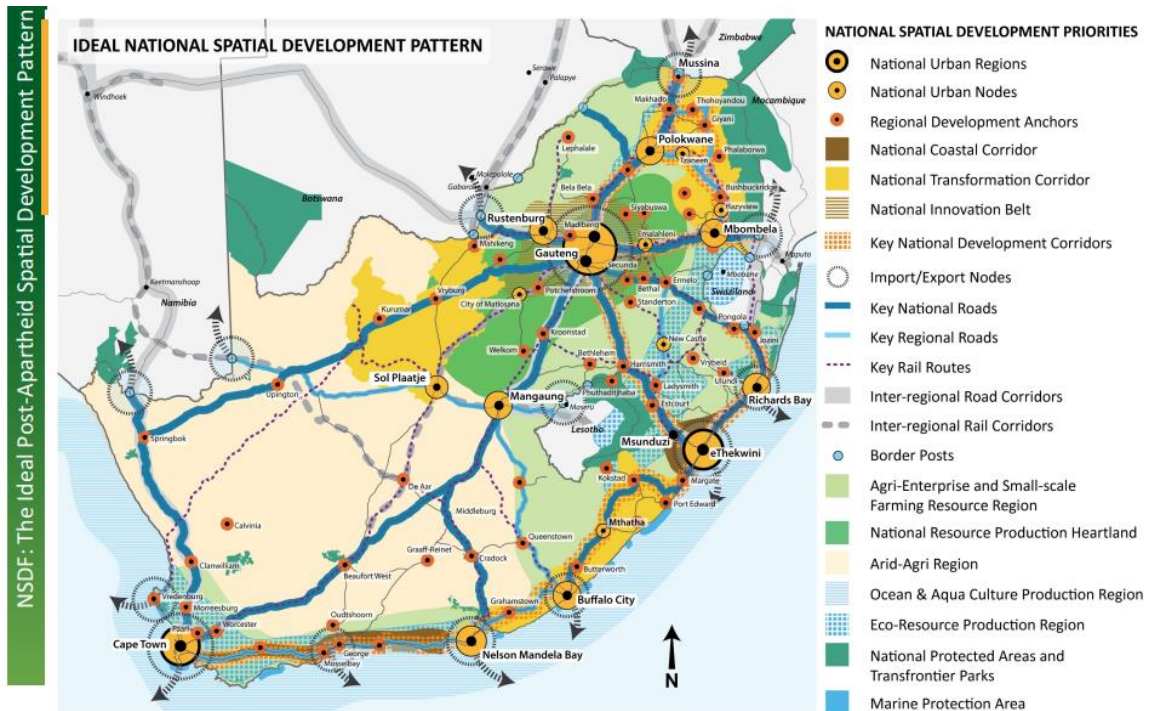


Figure 8: South Africa National Spatial Development Framework (Source: National Spatial Development Framework 2050)

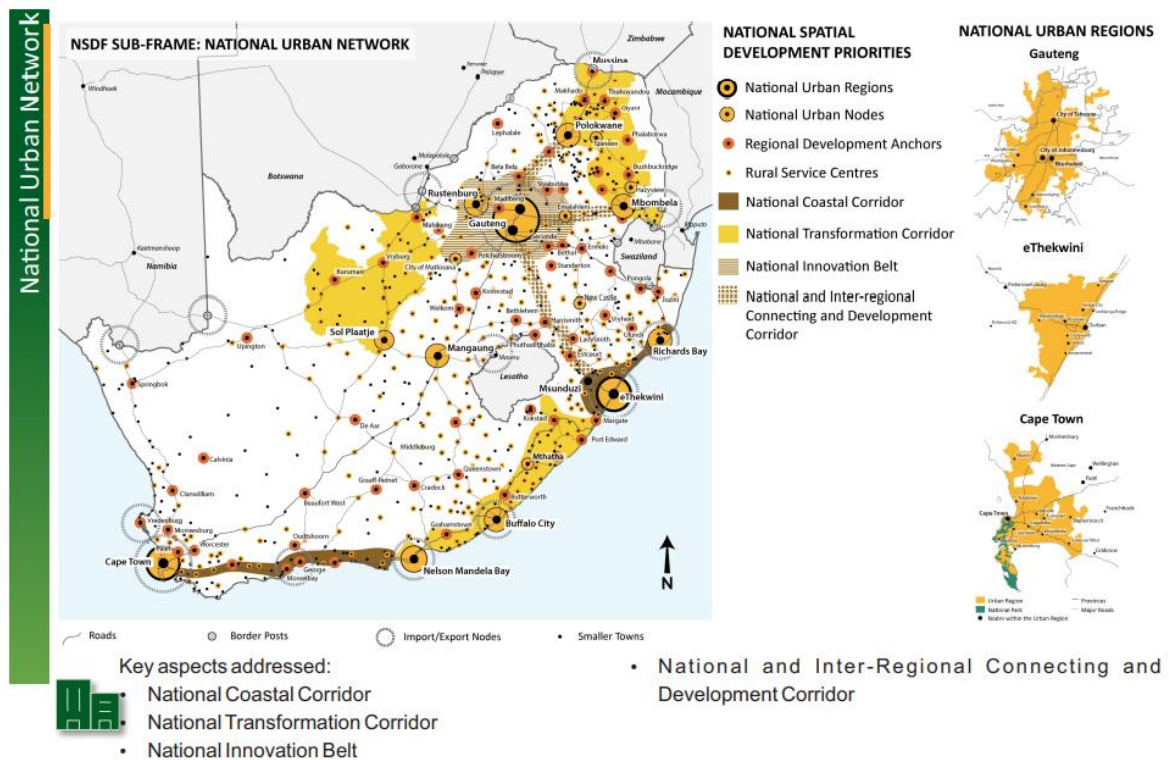


Figure 9: National Urban Network (Source: National Spatial Development Framework 2050)

¹¹³ IBID SCN, 2021.

9.2 Rwanda's National Urban Policies and the Role of Secondary Cities

In Rwanda, urbanization is not an accidental but it has become a phenomenon sponsored by a deliberate government policy and commitment. Presently, Rwanda's urban system is predominantly monocentric which highlights the urban primacy of the national capital Kigali where nearly 50% of the country's urban population lives. Secondary cities have the potential to grow and help deconcentrate population and economic activity from the capital Kigali. Secondary cities, particularly those situated along urban corridors, have been growing faster than Kigali. Those situated along the urban corridor of the border between Rwanda and eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (Rubavu-Musanze corridor), and in Rwanda's southern region (Muhanga-Huye corridor). These urban corridors are potential areas to boost the economy of agglomeration in the localities given its rapidly growing population outside Kigali. These policies have been recognized by government.

Rwanda has presently a population of about 14 million inhabitants and its urbanization rate stands at less than 20% but annual growth rate at 4.5% per annum. In other words, Rwanda is rapidly urbanizing. Secondary towns are absorbing a lot of this growth. Informal settlements and slums are growing at high tempo as well since cities do not have the capacity to absorb this growth within their planning systems yet.



Figure 10: Map of Rwanda with Location of Key Cities

The Government of Rwanda (GoR) has placed urbanisation as a catalytic force of economic transformation of the country taking advantage of the economy of scale and agglomeration, and has adopted a national urban policy¹¹⁴ with the goal to increase urban population and create a more

¹¹⁴ Republic of Rwanda. Ministry of Infrastructure (2015). National Urbanization Policy.

equitable distribution and connectivity of cities within its territory. The national urban policy is structured on 4 strategic pillars, namely: (1) Coordination (and participation), (2) Densification (towards more compact urban areas), (3) Conviviality (inclusion, quality of life and resilience) and (4) Economic Growth (spatial development framework and green economic growth, private sector engagement). These four pillars and their realization is closely associated with the ability of secondary cities to play their role in the broader development framework.

The spatial development framework is of particular interesting as far as our focus on secondary cities is concerned. It outlines a strategic spatial prioritization where secondary cities are expected to play a role of poles of economic growth in which 6 cities are to become specialized hubs or poles of education and knowledge (city of Huye), international gateway and tourist (city of Rubavu), eco-tourism and industry (city of Musanze), cattle and dairy (city of Nyagatare), trade and transportation logistics (city of Rusizi), and hydropower, mining and creative economy (city of Muhanga). It promotes the notion of good urban management and the support to rural-urban linkages with an embedded regional integration strategy where urban areas are expected to support improvements in livelihoods and the local economy. Urban areas are looked at as the locus for enhanced local economic development with the creation of suitable business environment, adequate public utility provision and planned physical environment.

Vision 2020 had already outlined the ambition of Rwanda to become a middle-income country with a sizeable population living in urban areas. But it also identified challenges related to the narrow base of the economy mainly dependent on productivity and exports of coffee and tea, a weak institutional capacity that affects governance and the management of public resources due to lack of competent personnel and strong institutions amongst other things. Not mentioning the social and economic consequences of the genocide.

Nevertheless, Vision 2050 goes further in government commitment to sustainable urban future. It outlines this aspiration of achieving living standards of middle income countries by 2035 and higher income countries by 2050 with the ambition to have 70% of its population living in urban areas. Vision 2050 sets the motor for the “Rwanda We Want”¹¹⁵. Economic growth, transformation and good quality of life will be achieved through 5 pillars of transformation: (1) Human Development, (2) Competitiveness and Integration, (3) Urbanization and Agglomeration, (4) Agriculture for Wealth Creation, and (5) Accountable and Capable State Institutions. Pillar 3 on urbanization of vision 2050 confirms the sector policies previously adopted by the government on urbanization and housing and underscores political commitment and envisioning the deepening of decentralization to bring services closer to the citizens. Strengthening the role of secondary cities becomes vital for the realization of the Vision 2050.

The national government clearly supports the national urban policy with specific focus on secondary cities. It has identified six poles of growth (Huye, Muhanga, Musanze, Nyagatare, Rubavu and Rusizi) to play a role and function of development hubs for the non-agricultural activities with the ultimate goal of establishing an equitable urban system and decentralize economic development within its territory.

An interesting aspect of Vision 2050 is the policy to achieve universal access to affordable and decent housing¹¹⁶. The government set as aspiration to develop decent human settlements assuming that

https://bpmis.gov.rw/asset_uplds/files/National%20Urbanization%20Policy.pdf

¹¹⁵ Republic of Rwanda (2020). Vision 2050. https://www.nirda.gov.rw/uploads/tx_dce/Vision_English_Version_2050_-_31_Dec_2020.pdf

¹¹⁶ CAHF (2021). Scoping Rwanda’s Affordable Housing Sector and Its Finance. Institutional, Policy and Legislative Review. mimeo.

population growth comes hand-in-hand with increasing demand for housing. Housing is seen as instrumental to achieve a “national spatial human settlement frameworks in order to guide the location, hierarchy and service levels of human settlements in the country”¹¹⁷. This strategy is closely associated with densification and development of housing finance which are likely to take place in secondary cities.

Rwanda’s Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy II, 2013-2018 (EDPRS2)¹¹⁸ identified 6 secondary cities to become growth poles e.g. Huye, Muhanga, Nyagatare, Rubavu, Musanze and Rusizi. These cities are confronted with the problems of inadequate management and provision of basic infrastructure and services which affect economic development and quality of life of their rapidly growing population. In addition, the government of Rwanda has adopted The National Roadmap for Green Secondary City Development in Rwanda¹¹⁹ as practical guide to achieve low carbon development, climate resilience and low carbon emission by the year 2050. The Road Map was led by the Global Green Growth Institute-GGGI, in collaboration with the government, World Bank and UN-Habitat.

9.3 Secondary Cities in Mauritania

Mauritania is essentially a desert country, it is sparsely populated and not very urbanized¹²⁰, with vast areas of pastoral land and only 0.5% of arable land. The population is about 4.8 million (2021), and the density of 4 inhabitants per square kilometre makes it one of the least densely populated countries in the world. Further, more than half of Mauritians live in urban areas (56%) (2021). It belongs to the Sahel Region which is presently undergoing an internal process of societal transformation of which urbanization of towns, secondary cities and capitals, lifestyle transformations are all part and parcel of this process. This calls for the strengthening of cities and the development of local authorities, local governance and local economic development¹²¹. Currently, the region is increasing security threats. In the beginning of this century, the government launched the poverty alleviation strategy process involving various stakeholders from public, private, community and academic sectors. A four pronged strategy was adopted focusing on (1) accelerating economic growth, (2) public investments to reduce inequality and improve productivity of the poor, (3) human resources development and access to infrastructure and institutional development and good governance¹²².

The World Bank supports decentralization and secondary cities in Mauritania through the project “Decentralization and Productive Intermediate Cities Support” with a grant of US \$66 million¹²³. The main objective of the project is to improve access to local services in selected Localities and strengthen the capacities of Local Governments to plan and manage local public services.

The development objectives of the World Bank sponsored project strengthen the role of secondary cities in the country. It supports decentralization and productive second cities, referred to as intermediate cities in Mauritania and aims at: (1) improving access to local services in selected cities; (2) strengthening the capacities of local governments to plan and manage local public services. It is

¹¹⁷ Republic of Rwanda. Vision 2050

¹¹⁸ Republic of Rwanda (2013). Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy II.

https://www.minaloc.gov.rw/fileadmin/user_upload/Minaloc/Publications/Useful_Documents/EDPRS_2_1_.pdf

¹¹⁹ Republic of Rwanda (2015). National Roadmap for Green Secondary City Development. <https://gggi.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/National-Roadmap-for-Green-Secondary-City-Development.pdf>. Global Green Growth Institute/

¹²⁰ <https://africapolis.org/en/country-report/Mauritania>

¹²¹ iD4D (2019). Rapid population growth of the Sahel Region: A Major Challenge for the Next Generation.

<https://ideas4development.org/en/population-growth-sahel-challenge-generation/>

¹²² Government of Mauritania (2000). Poverty Reduction Strategy.

<https://www.imf.org/external/np/prsp/2000/mrt/01/121300.pdf>

¹²³ <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/mauritania/overview>

interesting to see analogies with the propositions for the cities in Burkina Faso, Congo and Uganda. The project is structured under four components.

Component 1: to improve access to infrastructure and services for economic development. It intends to achieve this by (a) promoting resilient urban infrastructure and services supporting economic development in selected southern intermediate cities; and (b) by promoting urban and rural electrification.

Component 2: to strengthen decentralization and local government capacity. It intends to achieve this by (a) building the capacity in public municipal finance management in the targeted local governments, both at the regional and municipal levels, and (b) strengthening public sector management to increase local governments' efficiency and capacity to develop their local economy; (c) strengthening the systems for implementing decentralization reform. It consists of following sub-components: (i) strengthening the systems for decentralization. It intends to achieve this by building the capacity of Local Governments.

Component 3: to develop and strengthening project management in support to the implementation of all activities of the bank in accordance with the World Bank's policies and guidelines in the area of coordination, supervision, financial management, procurement, audits, etc. including training and operating costs.

Component 4: to establish preparedness to deal with contingency emergency responses.

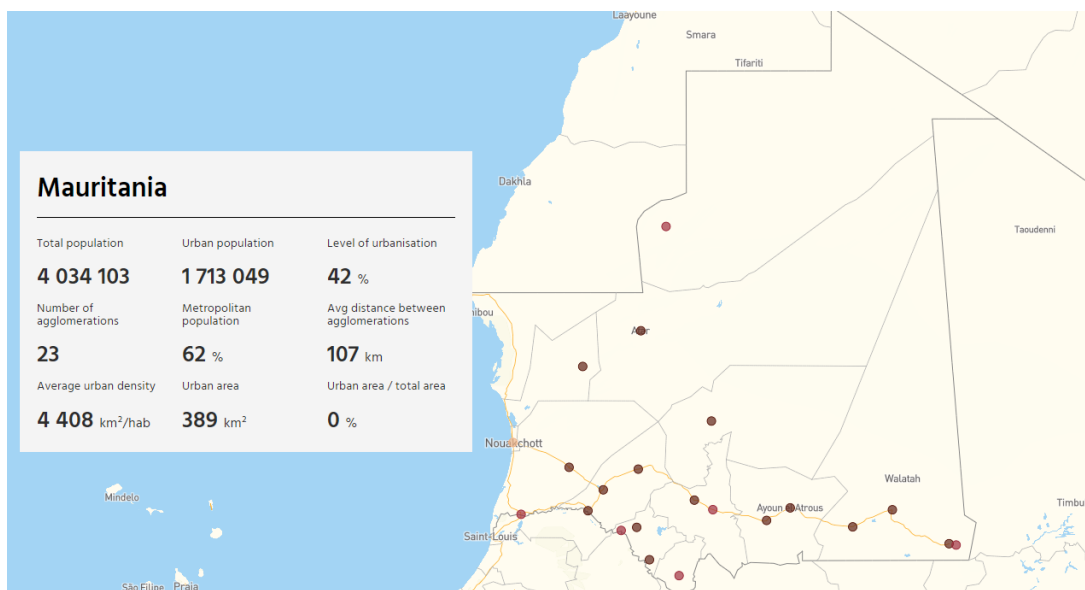


Figure 11: Map of Urban Agglomerations in Mauritania (Source: <https://africapolis.org/en>)

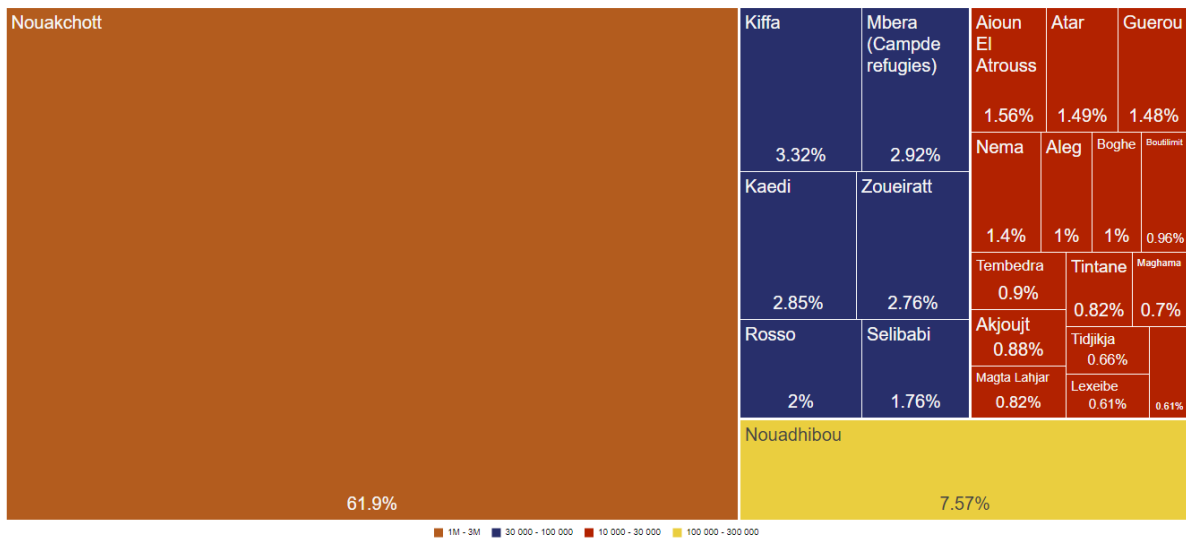


Figure 12: The Demographic Weight of Cities in Mauritania (Source: <https://africapolis.org/en>)

9.4 Secondary Cities in the USA: the case of smaller legacy cities

The legacy cities in the USA have their economic basis built on manufacturing and industry and a lot of their distress and decay are related to the decline of their industrial footprint. Although this differs fundamentally from what we have observed in secondary towns in Africa, and particularly in Arua, Koudougou and Nkayi, it is possible to make some analogies and draw conclusions that are relevant for the secondary cities project in Africa. Particularly when one looks at the policies and approaches adopted to revitalize these cities without industrialization and considering their role in the broader city region and state/province, and even nationally.

In a study focusing on small and **midsize cities in the USA with 30,000 to 200,000 inhabitants**, Hollingsworth and Goebel (2017)¹²⁴ reveal that these cities are facing problems which to a certain degree find similarities and correlations with the challenges faced by secondary cities in Africa as unveiled by the Secondary Cities Project in Africa, in Koudougou (Burkina Faso), Nkayi (Congo) and Arua (Uganda). For example, deep-rooted poverty (one in five residents of all smaller legacy cities living in poverty in 2015), disinvestment in neighbourhoods, dependency to larger cities and metropolitan areas, loss of population, loss of jobs, distorted housing markets and pervasive unemployment.

The study focuses on **legacy cities** which had their traditional economies built around manufacturing that lost significant population since its peak in the mid-20th century. Nevertheless, the findings are relevant and provide some interesting lessons learned for the formulation of policies and interventions in secondary cities in Africa. These legacy cities lack critical assets such as big corporations and institutions but still play roles in the national and/or regional economy serving as economic, cultural and services hub for the bigger city and its city-region where larger population live and work. This highlights the importance of their role and function in the broader region and economy where they are situated which matches the findings of the Secondary Cities Project in Africa. The study portrays a reality drawn on demographic, economic and housing market data for **24 cities in 7 different states in the USA** during the first 15 years of the 21st century (2000-2014).

The crisis that erupted in 2007-2008 has caused a significant increase in poverty and declining incomes and dramatic loss of jobs. The loss of jobs was between 2 and 40% revealing a contraction of local

¹²⁴ Hollingsworth, T., and Alison Goebel (2017). Revitalizing America's Smaller Legacy Cities. Strategies for Post-industrial Success. Policy Focus. Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, USA.

employment in nearly all cities. There was also a change in the geography of jobs meaning that workplaces have shifted between the central city and suburban areas. There is also a considerable diversity in terms of housing markets and demographic trends, cities experiencing growth and decline and facing the challenge of attraction and retention of young adult professionals and immigrants. Once city actually has more than one in 10 homes sit abandoned. The data reveals substantial shift and economic change. A shift from manufacturing to health and education sectors and increasing service and social assistance sectors. But also a growth by 25% in entertainment, accommodation and food-service industries across these cities. Some cities saw increase in logistics and shipping businesses, transportation and warehousing. Despite of low-paying, these jobs grew in cities seeking for new industries that require low levels of skills.

There have been divergent trends. Half of these cities continued to lose population while the other half stabilized or grew. Some turned into a city of distress because of the sizeable loss of population. The proximity to large cities and markets and the growth of immigrant population were reasons for population growth, some presenting greater rising in immigrant population than nationwide. In terms of age, most of these cities saw increases in the share of older population but also younger population in one third of them. Little progress was achieved in overall educational attainment. The population of young professionals (25-34 years old) who hold at least a bachelor's degree varies in these cities and there are some evidences that some cities experienced a relatively small growth.

These cities are still experiencing a distorted housing market with high percentages of housing vacancy and abandonment. The impact of the 2007-2008 financial meltdown that led to mortgage defaults and large-scale foreclosures can still be seen. New housing construction and demolitions vary amongst these cities. Some cities demolishing more than are being built and having to cope with loss of population and widespread foreclosures in a phenomenon of shrinking cities. Housing prices are low making it difficult to sell or rent new units that can cover costs and investments. Without subsidies this becomes a mission impossible. In some cities, a very low rate of housing was purchased with a mortgage suggesting that investors and absent owners are purchasing properties in these cities which coincides with high rates of vacancy and abandonment.

Identifying Factors Influencing City Revitalization

In terms of revitalization and urban renaissance, the high performing cities reveal measures and policies that increased household incomes, generated lowest rate of long-term housing vacancy and the largest share of newcomers – foreign born residents (immigrants) and the economic revival. Those that *'showed signs of turnaround have focused on strategies that build local capacity or prioritize revitalization efforts using limited resources'*. This is extremely useful for the Secondary Cities Project in Africa.

Progress and successful revitalization is not one fits-all solution in all these cities. Investments in education and medical campuses worked as catalytic forces of local redevelopment. The proximity to major towns that are economic engines and knowledge and research centres, combined with establishing better connectivity provided impetus in revitalization of small towns. Some risk taking in retrofitting and reuse of existing industrial parks proved impactful on the housing and construction sectors. The bottom line is that cities must acknowledge and get a realistic picture of the situation and plan for change that includes transition with population loss and the search for another economic basis, and how to fit into a rapidly changing national, regional and global economy. The city must find its niche and design a plan to prosper based on its own assets, economic drivers, demographics, location and local leadership. Alignment with its neighbouring cities and regions is likely to produce desirable outputs. How to (re)brand themselves, set its own identity and establish synergies with strong companies operating in its territory which also includes regional partnerships and coordination

with other towns in accessing national programmes (instead of competing amongst them for the same funding). This could translate as developing a supporting city role, a logistic hub, housing/dormitory town, a service provision or educational hub. The break away from decline and distress require a continuous and sustained strategic effort of reimagining the city and pursuing opportunities that capitalize on the city's assets in which local leaders and agents of change like business leaders, politicians, grassroots organizations and advocates play a critical role in leading action to realize the city's future. This highlights the issue of (a) local capacity and talent, (b) the need of renewal of leadership and (c) the ability to mobilize actors, resources, political will to turnaround deterioration of the local economy.

Practical Responses and Strategies to Reverse Urban Decay, Disinvestment and Depopulation

Overall the study identified **Eight broad strategies** that have been adopted by small legacy cities. These provide useful lessons, inspire and can be adaptable to the situation found in the secondary cities of Africa. The strategies adopted by the various cities deal with complementary areas of development such as local capacity building, public participation, partnership, vocational and technical training, housing and urban planning, community engagement, local economic development and rehabilitation of infrastructure and the building stock.

1. Build Civic Capacity and Talent: the goal is to attract and retain a next generation of leaders, build a talent pool of young professionals, and encourage a new generation of individuals to rise in leadership positions in both the public and private sectors, encouraging recent graduates to bring new ideas and creativity to local government and businesses. This includes but not limited to fellowships, internships, mentorship, recruitment of young graduates.

2. Encourage a Shared Public- and Private-Sector Vision: setting up collaborative mechanisms and institutional set-up to encourage business leaders to engage in collaborative efforts, establish channels of communication and participation, and a culture of civic engagement amongst business leaders; undertake joint fund raising, implement business development programmes to promote the city's economic and community development, and jointly design creative financing mechanisms and sources of funding.

3. Expand Opportunities for Low-Income Workers: adopt inclusive policies that develop opportunities for all incomes and educational backgrounds that can improve skills and abilities of local residents; to undertake a web of interventions to help low-income residents to access jobs, education, skills training and affordable housing. The goal is to combat skills gap and improve residents' economic prospects. This includes but not limited to vocational training programme, employer's skills-training workshops, programmes at technical colleges, linking jobs with skill training and connecting with technical secondary education.

4. Build an Authentic Sense of Place: adopt placemaking as economic development strategy with the goal of turning the city a place where people want to live, work and play. Transform the cities into an attractive, safe and vibrant place. Not limited to cool coffee shops, bike lanes, public spaces but redevelopment projects that create various living options with quality of life. Redesign areas and stimulate housing rehabilitation with creativity and at low cost to attract young people, those with lower incomes or less accumulated wealth and not so high purchase power. Training officials, developing toolkits, making local and regional plans, retrofitting and reuse of brownfields.

5. Focus Regional Efforts on Rebuilding a Strong Downtown: inner city development plans covering downtown and historical urban cores is part of an economic revival strategy focused on downtown as a business, residential, entertainment and mixed use development to offer housing options and attract more people turn the areas more vibrant of mixed-use residential areas. Areas that became

derelict and stagnant but offering a building stock and good infrastructure in place. This includes conversion of outdated commercial, office and industrial spaces, intervening in the physical form of places, and stimulating business development, attracting young professionals and partnering with businesses, companies, NGO's, non-profit organizations and interested groups.

6. Engage in Community and Strategic Planning: assuming that “the scale of the cities allows for greater community-wide consensus building about the city’s future”, various cities adopt a deliberate community engagement and civil participation process that helps to make use of available data and information, allocate scarce resources more optimally and make realistic assessments. Bringing multiple stakeholders to the process of planning and envisioning allows the city to use staff, time and resources to nurture community-based plans. That also helps the internal approval process.

7. Stabilize Distressed Neighbourhoods: the approach is to quickly stabilize distressed neighbourhoods through participatory planning, institutional and organizational setup to organize and structure interventions in a more consultative and participatory basis. The approach is based on the assumption that no single organization can take this task alone. Development corporations have been created in some cases as a dedicated community and urban revitalization entity that leads the process and creates platforms for participation of the business community and the population.

8. Strategically Leverage State Policies: the assumption is that state policies alone cannot bring about revitalization, so cities adopt policies that are carefully based on assessments of the cities’ opportunities and challenges and draw on resources, technical assistance and programming of the state/province promoting for example brownfield remediation and land banking, tax incentives, leadership development and planning.

9.5 Policies Towards Secondary Cities Development in China

The urbanization of China over the last decades has been unprecedented. Millions of migrants moved from rural areas into cities. This massive urbanization supports the country’s rapid economic growth and development progress¹²⁵. The level of urbanization increased from 17.92% in 1978 to 58.52% in 2017 which has surpassed the world average of 54.74%¹²⁶. This rapid urbanization and urban population growth finds parallel to Sub Saharan Africa, today’s the most rapidly urbanizing region in the planet. Therefore, for the purpose of understanding the role of secondary cities in the broad development context, it is useful to analyse and reflect on the role of secondary cities in China’s transformational urbanization and the type of government policies adopted to guide the urban expansion under such rapidly urbanizing context. This will help to understand how this growth is absorbed by secondary cities in a planned and sustainable manner. What lessons can we learn from China’s urbanization and the role of secondary cities which can be relevant to Sub-Saharan Africa’s urbanization?

The government of China devoted attention to definitions of cities and urban agglomerations in order to structure decisions on matters related to funding and tax collection and prioritization of industrial development policies. In China, secondary cities have played an important role in the State-led urbanization and in the overall economy of the country. Different meanings and definitions apply to Chinese secondary cities. The term ‘small towns’¹²⁷ are frequently referred to small cities that are officially recognized towns and market towns. These are small urban centres of different scales and administrative types. The definitions evolved through time, taking into account the number of residents, % of people employed in the city’s economy, being or not the seat of county

¹²⁵ World Bank (2014). Urban China. Toward Efficient, Inclusive and Sustainable Urbanization. Washington: World Bank.

¹²⁶ Xiao, Yping; Yan Song and Xiaodong Wu (2018). How far has China’s Urbanization Gone? Sustainability 2018, 10, 2953; doi:10.3390/su10082953. www.mdpi.com/journal/sustainability

¹²⁷ Xiaochengzhen

level government, a township with more than 20,000 inhabitants and their functional role such as mining, harbour, tourism, etc. The denomination of small town brings with it an administrative defined concept that includes the built-up areas and also the surrounding urban areas¹²⁸. To put this into perspective, for example, the province of Shanxi (36,5 million inhabitants) has 53 large urban towns and 6 rural towns, all with more than 30,000 inhabitants each. Data suggests that nearly 20% of the urban population in China lives in statutory cities with less than 500,000 inhabitants and more than a third lives in statutory towns. These figures highlight the potential role of secondary cities in China's urbanization.

Government policies towards secondary cities and urbanization as a whole have evolved throughout the years since Chinese revolution. During the first half of the 1980's, the Chinese government enacted a series of policies to develop small towns as part of the modernisation process of the country. Criteria for defining a town were eased resulting into a significant increase in the number of towns. From the outset, a governance system was established. This led to the establishment of a village and town authorities as well as a system of towns governing nearby villages. The establishment of township enterprises connected to natural resources in its hinterland was seen as good institutional set-up and sound development strategy to absorb rural labour resources for the achievement of industrialization and higher GDP. In this way, rural areas could urbanize and ease the pressure on larger cities. Policies encouraged farmers to work and settle in market towns that rapidly urbanized and changed their status to urban towns. The government established a system of residential registry in order to determine who would be eligible for accessing social services and benefits from urban settlement, as a way to curb informal employment and informal migrants. There was a deliberate central government policy to deconcentrate economic activity and demographics and place them in identified urban agglomerations.

During the 1990's there is a shift in policies and small town development becomes a strategy based on three major approaches. (1) Promoting the establishment of township enterprises close to each other and around small towns; (2) discouraging the establishment of small towns away from transportation networks, resource supplier or markets; and (3) emphasizing market principles and market competition facilitated by local governments. Six ministries and central government commissions published a joint policy document entitled "Suggestions on Strengthening the Construction of Small Towns" in which township enterprises would facilitate small town development. The outcome was that 57 towns in 20 provinces were selected as pilot cases for the small town development plans. The state intervention in the national urbanization placed small towns at the centre of the rural industrial activities up to end of the first decade of this century, and expected them to carry out detailed planning and play an active role in their future¹²⁹.

The Chinese government enacted a national policy on small town development as part of a national urbanisation policy in the end of 1980's. It promoted the control over the big cities, moderating the development of medium-sized cities and encouraging growth of small cities¹³⁰. This urban development policy was eventually codified in the National Urban Planning Law in 1989. This was reinforced by the 8th Five-Year Plan (1991-1995) and 9th Five Year plan (1996-2000). The 11th Five Year Plan (2006-2010) strengthened the role of metropolitan areas and their economy promoting a more balanced development of cities regardless of their size. It was an effort to strengthen rural-urban linkages, improve infrastructure and incomes in the country side and pursue the implementation of suburban/satellite towns with strong connections with their metropolitan

¹²⁸ Li, Bingqin and Xiangsheng An (2009). Migration and Small Towns in China: power hierarchy and resource allocation. Human Settlements Working Paper Series. London: IIED-International Institute for Environment and Development.

¹²⁹ Ibid. Li and An, 2009.

¹³⁰ Chaoui, Lamia Kamal; E. Leman and Zhang Rufeï (2009). Urban Trends Policy in China. OECD Regional Development Working Papers.

centres. It is interesting to note that a secondary town closely connected with a larger metropolitan area was seen as strategic for the urbanization strategy of such an unprecedented scale. However, this was not always designed as such.

There has been widespread provincial development strategies that prioritized the build-up of 'urban champions' from the late 1990's onwards which are large and economically competitive metropolises¹³¹, with the goal of establishing large-scale industries, promote innovation and create the economy of scale and agglomeration with the concentration of a large consumer economy. The examples of Hunan and Jiangxi provinces, show that secondary cities and their hinterland received less attention by these provincial's metropolitan policies. Jiangxi's policies shifted over time and gave emphasis to the growth of secondary cities and livelihood improvements in rural areas¹³², prioritizing cities with population in the range of 200,000-500,000 inhabitants which brought benefits to secondary towns. Approaches to improve the built-up environment and the business climate were adopted resulting into regionally spatially balanced development and inclusive growth that benefited outlying cities and rural areas, shaping the economic landscape.

Urbanization of this magnitude requires land. The central government intervened strongly on the conversion of agricultural land, prioritized food security and set up a process of public inspection on land conversion quota in order to curb informal conversion of land use. This was an attempt to safeguard cultivated land. For that a Land Supervision Bureau was established at the national level. It is also worth noting that urbanization and land management starts to go hand-in-hand with land lease policies. The allocation and commercialization of land use rights were being used as a key tool to improve infrastructure and the fiscal capacity of local governments. The market of land use rights became an engine of urbanization and economic development. In other words, selling land use rights became a very popular mechanism to raise funds and this led to increasing competition between cities and also tensions between towns, villages and farmers. Concomitantly, the government made a serious and comprehensive effort to define the types of cities and statutory urban areas in China leading to statistical classifications and regulations to support the national census.

The urbanization and growth of cities in China witnessed the rapid transformation of suburban land and peripheral farming areas of urban districts that resulted into large-scale suburban sprawl in many cities. By the beginning of this century the government realized the potential of small towns to gear development and urbanization, adopting policies to use these towns as buffer zones to ease pressure on the large cities. This resembles peri-urban developments observed in many cities in Sub Saharan Africa. In fact, the state-led urbanization in China shows a deliberate effort of spatial policy shaping the geography of urbanization and industrialization, addressing regional disparities, that fundamentally used spatial policy instruments such as urban and regional planning, land governance, investment policy, and fiscal and financial institution¹³³.

There was a lot debate about the role of small towns/secondary towns and different reforms throughout the last decades. Policies were adopted that lacked the clear definition of responsibilities for small town authorities. It shifted between two extremes. At one end a decentralized model that expected a more active role on their own development and at the other extreme a subordination of small towns to the county level. The spatial planning and government responsibilities were based on a five tier structure that still prevails today: central, provincial, prefectural, county, city and township & villages. Several fiscal and administrative reforms were

¹³¹ Jaros, Kyle A. (2016). *Urban Champions or Rich Peripheries? China's Spatial Development Dilemmas*. Cambridge: Harvard Kennedy School. Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation

¹³² Ibid. Jaros, 2016.

¹³³ Ibid. Jaros, 2016.

carried out by the national government which revealed the intentions to improve revenue generation at the local level, including the delegation of power to tax and fund allocation which acted as great performance incentives for local governments. This resulted into increases in their GDP. There was a mix of success in this incentive approach. The administration of small towns, situated at the bottom of the administration system, was often subject to funding allocation mechanisms that affected their ability to operate debt-free and to deliver the services and infrastructure required.

State intervention was designed and implemented in a two-fold approach: direct intervention on the management and administration of the city; the interventions geared to economic development associated with investments in industrialization, infrastructure, land development and planned urbanization, and social policies to improve education, social protection and reduction of poverty. Indirect interventions focused on tax and revenues systems and special state interventions in strategic sectors such as environmental pollution, natural resources management, etc. See Figure below.

Recent calls by President Xi Jinping and Premier Li Keqiang for “a new form of urbanization”¹³⁴ are the latest reaffirmations of the central government’s efforts ‘to develop medium-sized and smaller cities and to better integrate city and countryside’¹³⁵. This indicates that secondary cities and its hinterlands are likely to receive more attention in an effort to achieve a spatially more balanced, inclusive and sustainable urbanization. It is argued that the remarkable urban growth of China cannot be credited only to ‘market socialism policies’ that increased domestic capital participation and FDI in the national economy¹³⁶. One should consider the policies adopted to inhibit the growth of very large cities and favouring spatial planning towards the urbanization of rural hinterlands, the consolidation of secondary cities and the guided migration from rural to urban areas that privileged secondary cities. Paradoxically, these well-thought and articulated policies did not prevent suburban developments and the appearance of “ghosts cities” devoid of people, showing an oversupply of housing and infrastructure. In order to better understand China’s urbanization it is paramount to understand the institutional and regulatory mechanisms that govern land, migration and capital allocation¹³⁷.

¹³⁴ Jamestown Foundation, Li Keqiang, New Type Urbanist, 27 September 2013, China Brief Volume: 13 Issue: 19, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/52973d194.html>

¹³⁵ Ibid. Jaros, 2016.

¹³⁶ Airriess, Christopher (2008). The Geographies of Secondary City Growth in a Globalized China. Comparing Dongguan and Suzhou. *Journal of Urban History*, Vol 35, No 1, 134-149 pp.

¹³⁷ Looney, Kristen, and Meg Righmire (2017). China Gambles on Modernizing through Urbanization. *Current History*, Vol 116, No. 791, pp. 203-209. University of California Press.

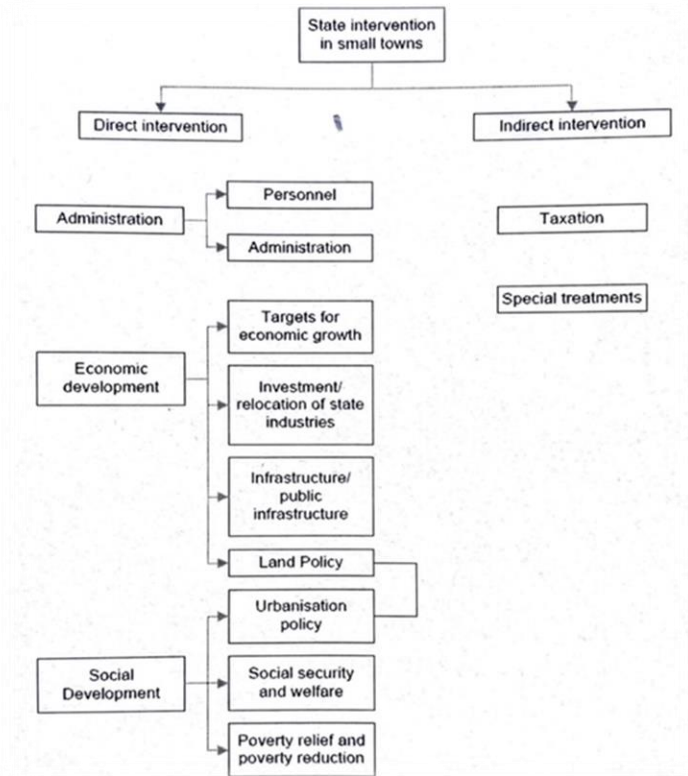


Figure 13: Type of State Interventions in Small Towns (Source: Li & An, 2009)

▼ Figure: Urban group spatial distribution diagram (the 13th Five-Year Plan)



Source: The 13th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development Edition 8, Chapter 33, Section 1

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Figure 14: China Spatial Development Plan (Source: An Overview of Spatial Policy in Asian and European Countries, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism of Japan).

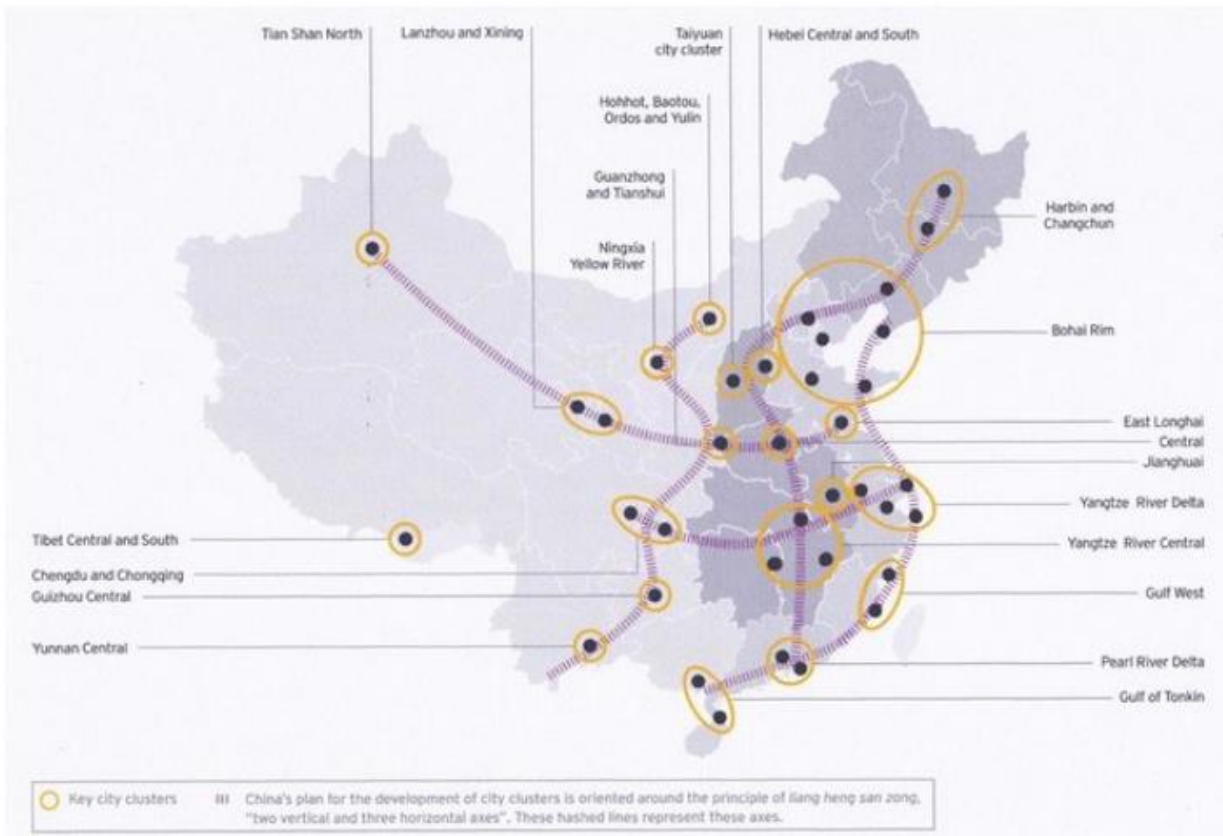


Figure 15: China Spatial Development Plan (Source: An Overview of Spatial Policy in Asian and European Countries, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism of Japan).